GLASGOW RADICALISM 1830-1848

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ABSTRACT

A good deal of controversy exists over the character of radical movements in Britain in the period 1830-48. One prominent school maintains that the relations between middle-class and working-class radicals were marked by class hostility and class conflict. Others are more impressed by the degree of co-operation between all radicals. This thesis proposes to examine radical movements in Glasgow during this period with a view to seeing which of these two hypotheses better fits the facts of the local situation in Glasgow.

In the nature of the subject, the sources were predominantly local, especially newspapers - a source in which Glasgow is particularly rich with a variety of papers (both Stamped and Unstamped) representing a variety of radical viewpoints. Such a source is not simply valuable as a means of ascertaining opinion at the level of newspaper leaders, it is an indispensable source of basic factual information revealing when and where meetings took place, how and why decisions were made, and who took part in the various agitations - the vital, basic information without which the thesis could not have been written, and information which was simply not available elsewhere. There are no surviving records of the radical organisations themselves; the only records of this nature are those of the Conservative Operative Association. These have been thoroughly searched and have proved the accuracy of newspaper reports of meetings.

At the same time a variety of published and unpublished sources throwing light on the problems have been used. Among the published official records are the 1831 Census Report; Parliamentary Papers, in particular factory reports, and a variety of Select Committee reports dealing with e.g. education, the sanitary condition of Glasgow, the condition of hand-loom weavers, trade and manufactures, and combinations;

and Hansard. The unpublished official sources consisted of the Lord Advocate's Papers, and the Home Office correspondence relating to Scotland and the North of England. The main unpublished records relating to unofficial organisations or private individuals were the records of the Anti-Corn Law League (situated in Manchester); London University's Collection of Broadsides and Goldsmith's Library's holdings on the factory movement; the Moir Collection of Papers, the Chamber of Commerce Tracts, and the Mitchell Library's Collection of Broadsides.

Utilising these sources, Chapter I examines the social and economic background of the city. It aims to bring out those aspects of the community which could reasonably be expected to affect the development of class consciousness and the state of class relations. Such aspects include the character of the local economy, the prospects of social mobility, local political traditions and local cultural values.

Subsequent chapters examine the attitudes and relations of middle-class and working-class radicals in Glasgow as revealed in the major issues arousing radical interest throughout the period 1830-48. Chapter II considers these in connection with the struggle for parliamentary reform; Chapter III in relation to the elections for the first Reform Parliament. Chapter IV examines the developing relations over a number of national political issues occurring in the period 1833-7. In Chapter V the response of Glasgow radicals to the two great radical movements of the period - Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law movement - is considered. The former has received attention from historians but the latter has been almost totally neglected. Chapter VI examines another great movement dominant throughout the period - the factory movement.

In each of these areas the investigation suggests that the class co-operation thesis seems to be more applicable to Glasgow than the class conflict one, though there are occasions and episodes which might qualify this.

The concluding chapter attempts to comment on, and explain this situation, comparing it with the situation in a number of English cities on which similar work has been done; and offers some tentative thoughts on the question of the making of the Glasgow working class. It suggests that co-operation was fostered by the structure of Glasgow's society and economy, by the general sharing of a common value system and by the absence from the Glasgow scene of some of the more detested aspects of the actions of the Reformed Parliament - most especially the English Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. And, whatever may have been the situation elsewhere, it does not seem possible to sustain the idea that Glasgow possessed a unified working class by 1848 let alone 1832.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own original work and that it has not been submitted in any other form, in whole or in part, to any other University for any other degree.

Acknowledgements

It is impossible to thank individually all those who provided assistance in one way or another. My principal debt is owed to Dr. J. Tumelty who first stimulated my interest in nineteenth century history, and who as my supervisor provided invaluable help and encouragement. I should also like to thank Professor W. R. Brock and the staff of the History Department of Glasgow University who by formal and informal ways developed my interest in history. Finally, I should like to thank my parents who 'endured' the checking of the typescript and Mrs. I. Young who ably did the typing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Amateur Hist.	- Amateur Historian.
Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers	- Assistant Commissioners Report Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII.
Birm. Uni. H. J.	- Birmingham University Historical Journal.
Brad. Text. Soc. J.	- Bradford Textile Society Journal.
Bur. Recs.	- Extracts from The Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, Vol. XI 1823-33 (Glasgow, 1916).
Camb. Hist. Journal	- Cambridge Historical Journal.
Chamb. Edin. Journ.	- Chambers Edinburgh Journal.
Chambers Hist. Newspaper	- Chambers Historical Newspaper.
Child. Employ. Commiss.	- Children's Employment Commission Appendix to the 2nd Report of the Commission Trades and Manufactures Part II 2 Feb.-24 Aug. 1843, P.P., 1843, (432) XV.
Ec. H. R.	- Economic History Review.
Edin.	- Edinburgh.
E.H.R.	- English Historical Review.
Fact. Inspect. Rep.	- Factory Inspectors' Reports.
Glas.	- Glasgow.
G.U.S.A.	- Glasgow Universal Suffrage Association.
Halifax Antiquarian Soc.	- Halifax Antiquarian Society.
H.T.A.	- Herald to the Trades Advocate.
H.J.	- Historical Journal.
Hist. Studs.	- Historical Studies.
I.R.S.H.	- International Review of Social History.
Irish Poor Rep. 1835	- State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain. Report 1835.
J. of Brit. Studs.	- Journal of British Studies.
J.M.H.	- Journal of Modern History.
Misc. of Scot. Hist. Soc.	- Miscellany of the Scottish History Society.

Munic. Corps. Scot. - Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Local Reports Part II, P.P., 1836 (32) XXIII.

Nat. Lib. of Wales Journal - National Library of Wales Journal.

Northern Hist. - Northern History.

P. & P. - Past and Present.

Polit. Sci. Quart. - Political Science Quarterly.

R.R.G. - Radical Reformers' Gazette.

Sanit. Condit. Scot. - The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland, P.P., 1842, (H.L.) XXVIII.

S.H.R. - Scottish Historical Review.

Scot. J. of Pol. Econ. - Scottish Journal of Political Economy.

Scot. Lab. Hist. Soc. Journal - Scottish Labour History Society Journal.

Studies in Hist., Econ. and Public Law, Columbia Uni. - Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Columbia University.

Tait's Edin. Mag. - Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.

Thoresby Misc. - Thoresby Miscellany.

Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc. - Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society.

T.L.C.A.S. - Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

Trans. Thoroton Soc. - Transactions of the Thoroton Society.

V.S. - Victorian Studies.

Vit. Stats. 1843, 4. - A. Watt, Vital Statistics for 1843 and 1844 (Glasgow, 1846).

York. Bull. Soc. and Econ. Res. - Yorkshire Bulletin of Social and Economic Research.

H.O. - Home Office.
N.S. - New Series.
ser. - Series.
P.P. - Parliamentary Papers.

INTRODUCTION

> They [the working classes] felt they knew exactly what class had tricked them and why. The theory of the class struggle now [1833] for the first time appeared overtly in British history as a dominant belief. The practice of the class war, for the next fifteen or twenty years, was to fill domestic history to the exclusion of most other things: it was recognized by both those who deplored it and those who fought on one side or the other. The opposition between the middle class (the word "capitalist" was rarely used) and the working class was more universally taken to be the key to current history than it has ever been since or before, except perhaps in twentieth-century Russia.(1)

In line with the above quotation, the history of Britain in the 1830s and 1840s has been seen as a history of conflict between two opposing social groups: the middle classes and the working classes. 'In the eighteen thirties and forties Britain was closer to a class war than at any other moment in her history.'(2) One historian had no difficulty in dating conclusively the beginnings of the class struggle in England: 'In England the facts, indeed, are so clear and definite that one may even fix the precise year in which the conception of the class struggle as a component part of proletarian thought first made its appearance. It was in the year 1831, when the first Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons.'(3) From the 'betrayal' of 1832 which left the working classes beyond the pale of the constitution, followed by the disappointment at the legislation of the 1830s with its seeming lack of relevance to working-class lives 'class struggles' became ever more apparent till the apogee was reached in the two distinct agitations of the 1840s - Chartism 'the first broad and politically organized proletarian-revolutionary movement of the masses',(4) and the Anti-Corn Law

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(1) G. D. H. Cole and R. Postgate, The Common People (London Univ. Paperback, 1968), p. 261.
(2) U. R. Q. Henriques, 'An Early Factory Inspector : James Stuart of Dunearn', S.H.R., L (1971), p. 46.
(3) Th. Rothstein, From Chartism to Labourism (London, 1929), p. 94.
(4) Lenin quoted in ed. A. Briggs, Chartist Studies (London, 1970, paper ed.), p. 290.

League 'the prototype as it were of bourgeois-class movements'.(5)

This whole kind of interpretation has found its most impressive champion in E. P. Thompson who claimed that the English working class had been 'made' by 1832, by which time workers came to see themselves as one class with common interests, common values and a common culture; all of which were in conflict with the property-owning classes. A 'collective self-consciousness' had been achieved as a result of formulating their ideas and organising to fight for these ideas.(6)

Such an interpretation has of course had its challengers: it has been pointed out that the political and economic analyses of the middle and working classes were not sufficiently distinct to justify Thompson's clear division; that differences within the working class were not overriden by 1832; and that many working men were in favour of an alliance with the middle classes against the aristocracy.(7)

Other important revisions have recently taken place, all of which stress in varying degrees that popular radicalism in the 1830s and 1840s should not be seen exclusively in terms of conflict. Prominent among these are articles by B. Harrison and P. Hollis, A. Tyrrell and T. R. Tholfsen. These suggest, firstly that it is erroneous to think of only one working-class consciousness(8) in the 1840s: there were several variants, and while it is true some emphasised hostility to the middle classes, others advocating those typical Victorian

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(5) E. Hobsbawm, 'Class Consciousness in History' in ed. I. Mészáros, Aspects of History and Class Consciousness (London, 1971), p. 14.

(6) E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1968), Penguin ed.

(7) e.g. B. Harrison's review of The Making of the English Working Class, E.H.R., LXXXVI (1971), pp. 574-87.
R. Currie and R. M. Hartwell, 'The Making of the English Working Class?' Ec.H.R., 2nd ser., XVIII (1965), pp. 633-43.
H. Pelling in Spectator, 13 Dec. 1963 and others. Thompson deals with some of these rejoinders in the postscript to the Penguin ed.

(8) These are not of course the only protagonists of such an idea:
R. S. Neale, 'Class and Class-Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Three Classes or Five?' V.S., XII (1968-9), pp. 5-32 makes a similar point.

virtues of self-help and self-respect facilitated alliances with the middle classes; secondly, middle-class and working-class action did not diverge completely in the 1840s: there were many similarities in the ideologies of both these groups.

Harrison and Hollis(9) in a study of Robert Lowery attempt to show that ' . . . a working-class consciousness founded on the notion of self-dependence and self-respect was eminently compatible with mid-Victorian Liberalism. Only when working men sought to unify their class by expressing hostility to other classes did Liberals become embarrassed'.(10) Their thesis is not to be accepted without reservations. Their evidence is drawn overwhelmingly from a very limited period of three years: 'The present discussion of the relation between Chartism and Liberalism between 1830 and 1860 must centre on Lowery's activities from 1839 to 1842'.(11) Nor is it borne out at all points by the situation in Glasgow throughout these years.(12) Nevertheless the article is important in that it demonstrates the amount of contact and avenues for co-operation which existed in a period sometimes held to be characterised by nothing but class conflict and hostility.

In the same way, by reference to Samuel Smiles and Leeds politics, Tyrrell(13) attempts to demonstrate that ' . . . the theory that a choice had to be made between two mutually exclusive forms of class

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(9) B. Harrison and P. Hollis, 'Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery', E.H.R., LXXXII (1967), pp. 503-35.
(10) Ibid. p. 534.
(11) Ibid. p. 511.
(12) Most especially their claim, 'But whereas in the 1830s working-class consciousness sharpened itself on what was seen as the middle-class betrayal of 1832, during the 1840s working-class hatred became increasingly diverted towards an exploiting aristocracy. Hence the timid moves towards rapprochement between middle and working classes in the early 1840s'. Ibid. p. 531. This point will be dealt with fully below, see Chap. IV.
(13) A. Tyrrell, 'Class Consciousness in Early Victorian Britain: Samuel Smiles, Leeds Politics, and the Self-Help Creed'. J. of Brit. Studs., IX (1970), pp. 102-25.

consciousness provides an unsatisfactory framework for the study of popular movements in the 1840s, the time when it might have been expected to have most validity.';(14) and suggests that the idea of a class alliance had not died even in the 1840s.

Taking this a step further, Tholfsen inquires into the ideology behind such behaviour.(15) While not denying the force of social and economic factors in bringing about mid-Victorian stability, Tholfsen demonstrates the contribution made by the Enlightenment and Evangelicanism to the development of a stable culture encompassing working-class radicalism and middle-class radicalism; and thus containing class conflict within safe limits. Both the working and middle classes shared a set of common values stemming from the Christian and humanist traditions of European civilisation: the preoccupation with personal improvement and advancement; the exaltation of man's intellectual and moral development as the highest good. Because these were not exclusively 'middle-class' values imposed from above, the working classes could accept the value system. These values were reinforced by the various institutions, roles and rituals of everyday life.

Tholfson's thesis is particularly interesting since it does not rule out conflict. He is quite aware that conflict is often apparent: as in the differing versions of the common values, with the middle classes wishing to retain their superiority - their inferiors were to be educated to 'respectability and docility' - while the working classes had no intention of surrendering to middle-class hegemony, but wished to preserve their values and class pride. A common value system therefore, does not mean that working men were

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(14) Ibid. p. 105.
(15) T. R. Tholfsen, 'The Intellectual Origins of Mid-Victorian Stability', Polit. Sci. Quart., LXXXVI (1971), pp. 57-91.

uncritical of the middle classes or unable to see that education could be used as a panacea and a distraction. What it does mean is that the working classes were also quite capable of attempting to use the middle classes for their own ends, but given all that, both were still committed to the fundamental values of the culture.

The object of this thesis is to examine radical agitations in Glasgow in the period 1830-48 to test these hypotheses: to see exactly how the different radicals behaved in the various agitations; whether or not they co-operated with each other; what sorts of attitudes they displayed. It is not concerned to put forward a whole new theory of class; rather it seeks merely to see which of these two broad categories of explanation more adequately accommodates the data: one which posits that clear-cut definite lines can be drawn between the classes, and that the relationships are those of hostility and conflict; or one which allows for more blurring or obscuring of the line between classes, and for more complex relations between classes, comprising co-operation as well as conflict.

One of the first problems is of course that of a general definition of the terms 'middle' and 'working classes'. The difficulty in making such a distinction is obvious, and indeed was realised at the time: 'With regard to some of the occupations, as it is impossible to separate the master from the operative, either from the manner in which they are recorded in the registers of marriages, or in the government enumeration returns, there is a difficulty of ascertaining who are in more or less comfortable positions.'(16) The gradations of wealth, the differences in life styles and life chances occurring among the working classes were well known:

> the labouring population has . . . been spoken of as if it formed only one class, but it is really divided into several, among which the rates of remuneration are far

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(16) A. Watt, Vital Statistics for 1843 and 44 (Glas., 1846), p. 69 (hereinafter cited as Vit. Stats. 1843,4.)

> from being uniform . . . so that, in order to represent with perfect fidelity the state of the labouring population, it would be necessary to describe each class separately.(17)

Nevertheless, while recognising these difficulties, it is possible to make an attempt at defining categories on a basis of occupations, where such information is available. An examination of a sample of 158 people playing an active part in radical activities in Glasgow in the period 1830-48 ('active' being defined as those whose names come up at least three times in reference to radical activities: as attenders at meetings; as office-holders or members of a radical organisation e.g. the Reform Association, the Political Union, the Universal Suffrage Association, the Short Time Committee, or of a committee for a radical demonstration; as stewards at radical dinners) revealed the following occupations, and whether or not the people concerned were enfranchised by the Reform Bill.(18) (see Table I)

Some of these occupations are difficult to place in any class grouping e.g. distiller, brewer, builder. The others might reasonably be grouped into four classes: an upper-middle, a middle, an artisan and a working class. Thus the upper-middle class would consist of merchants, manufacturers, advocates, writers, residenters, doctors, shipbuilders and university professors; the middle class would consist of tradesmen, shopkeepers and clerical workers: booksellers, newspapermen (usually editors), collectors, jewellers, reporters, clerks, tobacconists, stationers, tea-dealers, ironmongers and spirit dealers; the artisan class would consist of umbrella

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(17) W. T. Thornton, economist, quoted in Briggs, Chartist Studies, p. 4.

(18) This is not of course a definitive guide since the 1832 poll book is the only one which appears to be extant, and this only covers those who voted, and not those who, though entitled to vote, did not. Considering however, we are dealing with those who are politically conscious, it seems unlikely that they would not use the vote if they had it.

TABLE I

Occupation	Number	Franchised	Unenfranchised
Merchant	42	40	2
Manufacturer	13	12	1
Cotton Spinner	11	0	11
Writer	6	6	0
Cotton Yarn Dresser	4	0	4
Doctor	4	3	1
Newspaperman	4	3	1
Ironmonger	2	2	0
Ironmoulder	2	0	2
Jeweller	2	2	0
Power-Loom Tenter	2	0	2
Tea Dealer	2	2	0
Tobacconist	2	2	0
University Professor	2	2	0
Advocate	1	0	1
Bookseller	1	1	0
Bootmaker	1	1	0
Brewer	1	1	0
Builder	1	1	0
Cabinet Maker	1	1	0
Calico Printer	1	0	1
Clerk	1	1	0
Collector	1	1	0
Coppersmith	1	1	0
Distiller	1	1	0
Drysalter	1	1	0
Engineer	1	0	1
Engraver	1	1	0
Hatter	1	0	1
Mason	1	0	1
Painter	1	0	1
Reporter	1	0	1
Residenter	1	1	0
Shipbuilder	1	0	1
Spirit Dealer	1	0	1
Stationer	1	1	0
Umbrella Maker	1	1	0
Weaver	1	0	1
Wright	1	1	0
Unknown	35	5	30
Total:	158	94	64

makers, hatters, bootmakers, engravers, painters, coppersmiths, dry-salters, cabinetmakers, engineers, wrights and weavers; the working class would consist of iron moulders, cotton spinners, cotton yarn dressers, power-loom tenters, calico printers and masons.

For the purposes of this study however, it is proposed to confine the terms used to two - middle classes and working classes. 'Middle classes' is taken as embracing categories one and two in the above analysis i.e. capitalists, professionals, those in business for themselves; typical occupations would be manufacturer, advocate, bookseller, flesher, grocer, spirit dealer. 'Working classes' is taken as embracing categories three and four in the preceding analysis i.e. skilled artisans, factory operatives and less skilled labourers; typical occupations would be hatter, tailor, cotton spinner, weaver, mason, mechanic.

This procedure seems reasonable because, for one thing, it is not always possible to ascertain the occupations of those taking part in meetings or demonstrations as precisely as could be done with the 158 people listed above. Thus the essential prerequisite for deciding whether an individual belongs to the 'artisan', or the lower, 'working' class, is too often unavailable; though there may be evidence enough to justify a wider 'working-class' label.

Again, while historians envisage the artisans as a special section of the working classes, they could hardly be categorized as anything but working-class however qualified by epithets like 'elite' or 'better-off'. Indeed it is this section together with the large intermediate group of working men immediately below them, who constitute the 'working classes' in most historians' generalisations,(19) if only because it is so difficult to talk with any confidence about the aspirations of the more demoralised masses of labour still lower

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(19) e.g. E. P. Thompson takes most of his evidence from the artisans and self-employed, yet he maintains 'The artisans are a special case - the intellectual élite of the class', op. cit. p. 787.

down the social scale. And it is precisely the same kind of people with similar occupations who were active in similar agitations in other parts of the country: Leeds Chartism looked to factory operatives, shopkeepers, small tradesmen and artisans; Norwich's Chartist committee contained weavers, a bookseller, a chemist; in Colchester, Ipswich and Birmingham artisans were prominent; in Sunderland, a bookseller was prominent; in Manchester, radicals tended to be operatives and artisans; in Leicester they tended to be self-educated working men and small tradesmen.

There is a further justification for adopting these two terms rather than a more sophisticated four or five class 'model': contemporary usage itself displayed a certain vagueness and looseness of terminology. Thus one survey talks of 'the working classes' in a context which clearly indicates artisans are being included.(20) Others distinguished, ' . . . the wealthier and middling and the labouring classes of society . . .';(21) ' . . . the middle and industrious classes of the community . . .';(22) ' . . . the higher, the middle and the lower classes . . .';(23) ' . . . the working and the higher classes . . .';(24) ' . . . the industrious and working

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(20) e.g. The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population - Scotland, P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, (hereinafter cited as Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII) p. 162
' . . . at least four-fifths of the population of the city of Glasgow and suburbs consist of the working classes and their families'.
cf. also 'The Grand Meeting of Operatives' 12 Jan. 1837. This contained ironmoulders, masons, bakers, bookbinders, cotton yarn dressers, cotton spinners, bricklayers, cork-cutters, labourers and quarrymen, curriers, tailors, hand-loom-weavers, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, boilermakers, calico-printers, cloth lappers, painters, combmakers, plumbers, engineers, power-loom tenters, ship carpenters, brassfounders, nailors, blacksmiths, iron dressers, dyers, joiners, coopers, sawyers; and it was maintained ' . . . this meeting was a fair representation of THE PEOPLE of Glasgow . . .' Argus, 16 Jan. 1837.

(21) T. Davidson, 3 Jan. 1831 at the Trades Political Dinner, Scots Times, 8 Jan. 1831

(22) Scots Times, 14 June 1831.

(23) Committee of the Trades, Herald to the Trades Advocate (hereinafter cited as H.T.A.), 29 Jan. 1831.

(24) D. McAulay, 3 Jan. 1831, at the Trades Political Dinner, ibid. 8 Jan. 1831.

classes . . .';[25] that is, sometimes a two class model, at other times a three class one.

This study hopes then, to examine the attitudes of, and the relations between reforming elements in each of these two broad classes, as revealed in a number of popular movements of the period 1830-48. The main agitations selected for examination are: the struggle for parliamentary reform; the first Reformed Election; politics 1833-7; Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law movement; and the factory movement.

The enquiry is avowedly selective: there is no investigation of public health campaigns or of municipal politics. Trades unions do not receive a section to themselves: they are considered where and when they arise in the general chronology of the period. Trades unions have been treated in this way firstly because they are specifically working-class organisations, and not organisations where one would expect to find middle-class co-operation. Hence the investigation takes note of (a) middle-class attitudes to unions, and (b) union activity only insofar as it seemed to hinder or limit the chances of class co-operation. Secondly since incidents like Tolpuddle and the Cotton Spinners Strike are held by some historians to have hampered political co-operation if not to have led to a breach between the classes, it seemed better to consider these episodes as and when they occurred. Unionism after all did not exist in a vacuum: as W. H. Fraser has concluded, 'Many working-class leaders did expend a great deal of energy on the campaign for the extension of the franchise. In Glasgow political activities delayed the development of general unions'.[26] It was felt therefore that the investigation could most usefully be directed to those issues where the political aspects were most prominent.

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(25) R. Wallace of Kelly M.P., (and many others) Scots Times, 5 Feb. 1831.

(26) W. H. Fraser, 'Trade Unionism' in ed. J. T. Ward, Popular Movements c. 1830-1850 (London, 1970), p. 108.

There seemed to be some advantage too, in concentrating attention on the single city and constituency of Glasgow, since this constituted one social and economic unit. Thus existing specific data could be used in a way in which it could not, if for example Paisley, which differed in its social and economic structure had been included. The need for such studies has been recognised: 'Many of the most important political changes of the nineteenth century have been studied exclusively from the standpoint of London . . . . The result has been not so much a failure to render credit where credit is due as a failure to understand the mainsprings of national political action.';(27) and in the case of a number of English towns and cities has been met. This study of a Scottish city is not meant as a work of piety or antiquarianism. It is meant to provide a further picture of a local response to national issues; and wherever possible, reference to, and comparison with, English cities has been made.

The main source for this investigation has been newspapers, both Stamped and Unstamped. In the case of the Unstamped of which thirty-one are extant, these have been valuable not only for working-class political views, but also as illustration of the degree of education of the working classes, their aspirations, their degree of assimilation to the prevailing value system of the community, their attitudes towards those above them in the social scale and their image of themselves. The Stamped newspapers have all been consulted, and while aware of the deficiencies of such a source - its ephemeral nature, the fact that it may be merely reflecting the view of a tiny minority - nevertheless its information, where it is a case of reporting what was said at meetings seems reasonably accurate. Here the newspapers themselves provide a countercheck, for example, accounts in a 'liberal reforming' paper can easily be checked against those in a 'conservative anti-reforming' paper. It has indeed seemed worthwhile quoting

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(27) A. Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities (1830-2)', Camb. Hist. Journal, X (1950-2), p. 293.

extensively from such sources since the rhetoric used, quite apart from the substance, is often illuminating as to the attitudes and aspirations of Glasgow radicals.

Where possible information gleaned from newspapers has been bastioned by that from 'official' sources. Thus extensive use has been made of the relevant parliamentary papers and Hansard of the time. Other valuable sources were the Census Report of 1831, and the poll book of the 1832 election. Regrettably only one poll book has come to light, but it has provided valuable insight about the make-up of the constituency created by the 1832 Reform Act. Extensive use has been made of it not only in respect of the actual election and its result, but also as a means of ascertaining whether or not those taking part in the various agitations of the period were enfranchised by the Reform Act. The Home Office Papers relating to Scotland and the North of England, the Lord Advocate's Papers, and the records of the Anti-Corn Law League have all been thoroughly searched.

CHAPTER I

GLASGOW - A NINETEENTH CENTURY CITY

I

> Of all the wens of corruption and misery it has ever been my lot to visit, surely Glasgow is the worst. I have seen London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and other great hives of human crime and human agony; but for undisguised profligacy, offensive brutality, squalid wretchedness, and unbearable filth, Glasgow, to my mind, excels them all . . . I know no adequate remedy for the horrors of Glasgow but of blocking it up at one extremity and setting fire to it at the other . . .(1)

Such was one visitor's reaction to Glasgow in 1843. It was a far cry from the reaction of another visiting it at the turn of the eighteenth century: ' . . . In a word, 'tis one of the cleanliest, most beautiful and best built cities in Great Britain.'(2) In the intervening period, from being the second city in Scotland, Glasgow had become the second city in the empire. Her growth in every aspect had been spectacular. In 1708 her population had been 12,766, by 1831 it had increased to 202,426 equal to 8.6 per cent of the population of Scotland, and in 1841 it stood at 282,134.(3)

The population of 1831 consisted of 41,965 families or households. Of these, female householders accounted for 8,706 or c. 21 per cent of the total, a proportion which remained steady throughout the decade. The largest proportion of these families, 64 per cent, was chiefly employed in trade, manufactures and handicrafts; only 0.7 per cent were engaged in agriculture. The main categories of employment were as follows:(4)

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(1) G. J. Harney, Northern Star, 2 Sept. 1843, though W. Cooke Taylor considered the manufacturing districts of Lancashire to be even worse, Notes on a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire (London, 1842), p. 40.

(2) D. Defoe, A Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain ed. G. D. H. Cole (London, 1927) II, p. 748 ff. quoted in T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (London, 1972 paper ed.), p. 356.

(3) For a break down of population by age and sex see Appendix I.

(4) Census 1831, pp. 1000-3.

TABLE II

Employed in Manufacture or in Making Manufacturing Machinery	19,313
Employed in Retail Trade or Handicraft as Masters or Workmen	18,832
Capitalists, Bankers, Professionals	2,723
Servants (Female)	8,006
Servants (Male)	946
General Labourers	574
Agricultural Labourers	101
Handloom Weavers	32,013

Some idea of the diversity of trades engaged in, can be gleaned from Appendix II. Worthy of comment is firstly the relatively small number of capitalists and professional men: 2.7 per cent of the occupied population (the occupations of only 103,000 people were given); servants accounted for 8.7 per cent of the occupied population and 4.5 per cent of the total population, Barony parish possessing the largest proportion. Glasgow therefore was pre-eminently a working-class city: the working classes accounting for at least 80 per cent of the population.(5) Secondly, the predominance of cotton: 29,287 people equalling 29 per cent of the occupied population were connected directly or indirectly with cotton.(6)

The rise of cotton had indeed been spectacular. In 1819 the number of cotton mills either situated in Glasgow or belonging to Glasgow firms had been 52. In 1839 Glasgow and the surrounding area contained 98 cotton mills employing over 17,000 workers, or an average per mill of 175, in a proportion of 5 men to 12 women.(7) In 1840 Glasgow had 108 factories mainly cotton employing 18,232 workers.(8) This was an illustration of the increasing wealth of the city: it

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(5) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 162.
(6) Calculated on a basis of information in J. Cleland, Enumeration of Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow (Glas., 1832).
(7) L. J. Saunders, Scottish Democracy 1815-40 (London, 1950), p. 102. For a typical age distribution of workers see Appendix III.
(8) Factory Inspectors' Reports, P.P., 4th Rep. 1840, (334) X, Rep. by D. Walker 13 May 1840, p. 3, Q. 4925. (hereinafter cited as Fact. Inspect. Rep., P.P.,) More were constantly being erected e.g. Fact. Inspect. Rep., P.P., (524) (583) XXVIII, by James Stuart 30 Sept. 1844, p. 10: 2 new flax factories, 1 new silk factory, 5 new cotton factories.

was estimated that the capital required for establishing a cotton mill was between £40,000 and £80,000.(9)

Cotton of course was not the sole employer of labour: the Govan colliery in 1834 employed 696 workers and the Calder Iron Works 585.(10) In 1846 print works in the Glasgow area employed between 4,000 and 5,000 children alone.(11) Monteith's Dyeing Works and Tennants' Chemical Works were also important in Glasgow's economy.(12) In proportion to its growth in population then, Glasgow had correspondingly grown in wealth, commerce, trade and manufactures.

The increased wealth of the city can be seen by examining the revenue of the River Clyde Trust, the value of exports and imports, and customs duties during this period. The revenue of the River Clyde Trust increased from £8,367-11-7 (£8,367.58) in 1825 to £59,017-2-9 (£59,017.14) in 1847. Exports from the Port of Glasgow rose from £87-19-10 (£87.99) to £961-7-8 (£961.38½), and imports from £194-6-3 (£194.31) to £6,859-1-6 (£6,859.07½) in the same period. The value of customs duties collected at Glasgow in 1840 was £472,563 and in 1847 it was £659,834.(13) J. C. Symons commented on the way in which this exhibited 'the rise of the commerce of Glasgow, - one but seldom equalled in the annals of mercantile prosperity'.(14)

The professions and institutions characteristic of a mercantile community displayed the same spectacular growth rate. In the period 1833-48, the number of accountants, engineers and surveyors at least doubled; ship and insurance brokers more than trebled; fire and insurance offices more than doubled; commission merchants increased

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(9) A. Alison, S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 1946,7.
(10) State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain. Report, 1835, pp. 113, 114-15. (Hereinafter cited as Irish Poor Rep. 1835).
(11) Fact. Inspect. Rep., P. P., 1846, (721) XX, by Jas. Stuart 1 Nov. 1846, p. 42.
(12) Census 1831, p. 1001.
(13) See Appendix IV.
(14) J. C. Symons, Arts and Artisans (Edin., 1839), Appendix, pp. 267-8.

more than five fold and there were four times as many shipbuilders. There was also an increase in the number of architects, manufacturers, merchants and banking houses, and while there had been no stockbrokers at all in 1833, by 1848 there were 80.(15)

To cater to the tastes of those now enjoying increased prosperity, a host of subsidiary 'industries' also flourished. In the period 1833-48 the number of booksellers increased by about one-third; coffee houses increased six times; goldsmiths and jewellers almost quadrupled; jewellers more than doubled; libraries quadrupled; looking-glass manufacturers almost doubled; milliners and dressmakers more than doubled as did music and musical instrument dealers; musical instrument makers almost trebled; piano makers, portrait, minature and landscape painters, reading rooms, silversmiths, to name but a few, all showed a similar increase.(16)

One hallmark of Glasgow's economy therefore was its diversity. Another was its versatility. To meet the demands of a wide ranging and varied market, Glasgow businessmen had developed flexible business methods. Economic crisis had been met by shifting markets and redirecting capital (for example, the American War bringing to an end the tobacco trade, was replaced by the cotton boom). To facilitate this, specific institutions had been set up, such as the new Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce. Glasgow was the first city in the world to establish a Chamber of Commerce in 1783.(17)

Despite fluctuations then, Glasgow in the period 1830-48 saw an overall growth in wealth for most of its inhabitants. By 1843-4 there

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(15) See Appendix V.
(16) Ibid. See also Census 1831, p. 1001.
(17) For a discussion of the Chamber of Commerce, see H. Hamilton, 'The Founding of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce 1783', Scot. J. of Pol. Econ., I (1954), pp. 33-48.

were 11,914 houses within the city let at an annual rent of £5 and upwards representing a total rent of £150,410 or an average rent of £12-12-5¾ (£12.62½). In Barony parish there were 10,310 houses let at a rent of £5 and upwards, making a total rent of £228,200 or an average rent of £22-2-8 (£22.13½).(18) A proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs received donations totalling £20,900. Of these, 70 were of £200; 2 were of £500; 1 of £300; 54 of £100 and 4 of £50.(19)

Nor was this increase in wealth confined to the upper reaches of society. Thirteen thousand and forty members of the working classes had opened accounts in the National Savings Bank in the period 1836-9.(20) True many of these accounts constituted relatively small sums: in 1839, 21 per cent of deposit transactions were for sums of 5/- (25p) and under; 34 per cent were for sums of 10/- (50p) and under; 54 per cent were for sums of £1 and under; 84 per cent were for sums of £5 and under.(21) Nevertheless these savings are significant in illustrating the increased wealth and the general predilection towards thrift of the working classes. The number of domestic servants, mechanics, artificers, clerks, shopkeepers and dressmakers as a percentage of the depositors increased throughout the period.(22) The number of agricultural servants, labourers, and factory operatives diminished. While this was due in certain cases to a diminution in earnings, such as occurred among hand-loom weavers,(23)

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(18) Vit. Stats. 1843.4, p. 65. See also J. Cleland, The Former and Present State of Glasgow (Glas., 1840 2nd ed.), p. 34.

(19) 'List of Donations for Building Twenty New Parochial Churches etc.', Pamphlets Relating to Glasgow, 3, pp. 14-15.

(20) Cleland, The Former and Present State, p. 88. See Appendix VI. Peel used the records of the Glasgow National Savings Bank, 22 Feb. 1839 to illustrate his premiss that the Corn Laws were not detrimental to the country. Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XLVI, 15 Mar. 1839, col. 760.

(21) Cleland, The Former and Present State, p. 88.

(22) Children's Employment Commission Appendix to the 2nd Report of the Commission Trades and Manufactures Part II 2 Feb.-24 Aug., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, 187, No. 181. (Hereinafter cited as Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV).

(23) See e.g. S. C. Rep. Hand-loom Weavers' Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 1291.

in others it merely meant money was being deployed for other purposes such as Chartism and trades unionism.(24) Despite this, according to the National Savings Bank Report of 2 January 1841 approximately 50 per cent of individual deposits belonged to members of the working classes.(25)

Such a state of affairs was largely due to favourable wage conditions. It was generally accepted that wages were higher in Glasgow than in the rest of Scotland.(26) And throughout the 1830s weekly wage rates appear to have been relatively steady as Table III shows:(27)

TABLE III

Occupation	1830-5	1838
Brassfounder	19/- (95p)	£1
Carding Master	16/10 (84p)	17/6 (87½p)
Cabinet Maker	18/- (90p)	£1
Collier	20/7 (£1.03)	22/7 (£1.13)
Mason	18/- (90p)	19/- (95p)

Wages were particularly high in the cotton industry (and cotton employed almost a third of the labour force): around one eighth earned 35/- (£1.75) a week, the highest amount, the rest averaging between 12/- (60p) and 25/- (£1.25) a week.(28) (This was attributed to the benefits of combinations.)(29) Prices were also relatively steady over the period, having fallen since 1819: a four pound loaf cost 11¾d. (5p) in 1819, 8½d. (3½p) in 1831 and 9½d. (4p) in 1840.(30) In general prices were held to be lower in Scotland than in England: beef and bacon were both 1d. (½p) a pound cheaper, and bread likewise, though wages were as good.(31)

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(24) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, 187, No. 181.
(25) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 166.
(26) S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 45, Irish Poor Rep., 1835, p. 110.
(27) See also Appendix VII.
(28) S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 877-82, 951-3.
(29) Ibid. Q. 68; H.T.A., 1 Jan. 1831.
(30) See Appendix VIII.
(31) D. J. Rowe, 'The Chartist Convention and the Regions', Ec.H.R. 2nd ser., XXII (1969), p. 67; S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 75-6.

Despite however, the number earning good wages, and the thousands with savings in the bank, there can be no doubt that for many life was merely a struggle to exist. Parliamentary inquiries repeatedly painted a picture of the direful effects of the lack of a system of poor laws.(32) The amount of indigence was much greater than the rest of the community were aware: 'It would be a melancholy and painful subject of statistical inquiry to endeavour to ascertain how many individuals in this great city, with all its masses of wealth, get up in the morning without knowing where they are to find a meal, and how many actually cannot obtain food without having recourse to begging or theft.'(33) The causes of this indigence were diagnosed as unemployment, sudden trade depressions, high prices and liability to disease.(34) It was not explained away in terms of the poor's lack of ability to 'get on' in the world, or provide for themselves, as it was by the middle classes in, for example Oldham. Official opinion was well aware of the very small margin that separated the family from complete destitution when the chief bread winner was out of work.(35)

Some idea of the awareness of the problem can be gleaned from the increase in the aid to the casual poor. This more than trebled between 1829 and 1837;(36) between 1840 and 1847 the amount levied for the support of the poor in the parish of Glasgow (that is, equal to approximately half the population) increased more than five times - from £9454 to £50,000(37) - though the population had only increased by approximately

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(32) e.g. Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 22, 90.
(33) Dr. Cumin of Glasgow Dispensary, Fact. Inspect. Rep., P.P., 1839, (159) (201) XIX, in J. Stuart's Report Jan. 1839, p. 71; see also Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 45, 170.
(34) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 181.
(35) Fact. Inspect. Rep., P.P., 1839, (159) (201) XIX, by J. Stuart Jan. 1839, p. 71.
(36) W. P. Alison, Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland and its Effects on the Health of the Great Towns (London, 1840), p. 13.
(37) S. C. Commercial Distress Part III, P.P., 1847-8, (565) VIII, 29 May 1848, p. 416.

25 per cent. At the same time as this official aid was increasing, so too was the voluntary aid provided by the Relief Committee,(38) and the people aided by the one differed from those aided by the other.(39)

Poverty however, was not the only problem facing Glaswegians: disease was another.(40) Typhus was rampant, indeed it was said never to leave Glasgow.(41) In cities with a comparable population, and many immigrants, such as Manchester, the situation was not nearly so bad. The number of fevers treated annually in Manchester Fever Hospital for the seven years ending in 1836 was 497 which represented less than a quarter of Glasgow's figure.(42) In fact mortality was particularly high in Glasgow, where it averaged 1 in 31 (the mortality rate of Middlesex including London, was 1 in 41, and in England generally it was 1 in 51).(43) Labourers and weavers were particularly prone to illness,(44) and infant mortality was very high.(45) For the adult the particular health risk was fever - there were 62,051 cases of this between 1836 and 1840; for the child it was scarlet fever, small pox and measles - there being 53,436 cases of these between 1836 and 1840.(46)

Distress and disease then were hazards facing a sizeable proportion of Glasgow's population. It is no surprise to find hand-loom weavers were sufferers. The decline of the hand-loom weaving industry affected the country uniformly. In 1828 there had been 12,000 looms in Glasgow, by 1838 there were only 9,350.(47) In 1830 there were

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(38) A voluntary organisation designed to give extra help in times of exceptional distress.
(39) A. Watt, The Glasgow Bills of Mortality for 1841 and 42 (Glas., 1844), p. 93.
(40) For burials at public expense see Appendix IX.
(41) Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 52.
(42) W. P. Alison, op.cit. pp. 25-7.
(43) Symons, op.cit. p. 122.
(44) See Appendix X.
(45) See Appendix XI.
(46) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 171.
(47) Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 2. See also Appendix XII.

reputed to be 12,000 weavers in distress.(48) All sections of the community were aware of the weavers' wretched state.(49) While it was reckoned that a weaver needed between 10/- (50p) and 12/- (60p) a week to keep himself, his wife and three children,(50) the average gross wage was around 6/- (30p) a week (though even here wages were higher in Glasgow than elsewhere).(51) Many were of course starving. By 1834 a hand-loom weaver's wages were only a third of what they had been in 1815.(52) Four specimens of earnings in 1839 showed four families with incomes of 3/10 (19p), 2/3$^{5}/_{7}$d. (11½p), 1/11¾ (10p) and 1/0$^{2}/_{7}$d. (5p) per person per week. Three shillings and ten pence (19p) and 1/0$^{2}/_{7}$d. (5p) represented extremes: in the latter the wife was dying of starvation, but 2/3$^{5}/_{7}$d. (11½p) and 1/11¾ (10p) were reckoned to represent the wages and distribution of labour in most Scottish weavers' families.(53)

Distress however was by no means the monopoly of the hand-loom weavers, other workers figuring prominently among the distressed were yarn winders, sewers and lodging-house keepers.(54) Women were also notoriously badly paid averaging from 1/- (5p) to 4/6 (22½p) per week for a fourteen to fifteen hour day at such occupations as winding and clipping tambouring.(55) There was of course a sizeable number who were totally unemployed. Poverty was not a threat limited to one period in a man's life, it was a continuing spectre.(56)

Conditions for the poor were particularly bad, even if they were not quite as bad as J. C. Symons suggested: 'penury and misery

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(48) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.
(49) e.g. Chronicle, 4 Oct. 1830.
(50) S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 1668.
(51) Ibid. Q. 676. For wages see Appendix XIII
(52) Ibid. Q. 1930.
(53) See Appendix XIV.
(54) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 180. See Appendix IX.
(55) Ibid. pp. 198-9.
(56) See Appendix XV.

(as well as disease) culminate in Glasgow to a pitch unparalleled in Great Britain'.(57) Nevertheless life for these people was squalid enough:

> Among the many distressing cases in Dempster Street I found Mrs. _____ and two other females occupying a small confined house, and the scene almost baffles description. They were all actually in a state of nudity, not having clothes sufficient to cover their nakedness. Before I could speak to them they were obliged to wrap themselves in something like old torn bed coverlets. The house was completely destitute of beds or other furniture - positively nothing. The inmates were starving, having no food whatever in the house, and it appears they had shut themselves up for the purpose of dying; their modesty having prevented them from making their circumstances known. After the most minute inquiry I could make, I found their characters irreproachable.(58)

Usually these hovels contained little or no furniture, the sole article of comfort being a good fire.(59) Often animals shared the 'home':

'A goat is kept in the corner, and the house has more the appearance of a pen than of a dwelling of men'.(60) And always there was the smell:

'The smell in the entries to these dwellings is sickening, and a few years must destroy the constitution of the strongest in such places'.(61) Consequently their physical condition was abominable.(62) Moreover this was the plight of the 'respectable' poor.(63)

Beneath the respectable poor a whole substratum of society lurked. These people were unable to pay the average rent that the working classes paid(64) and lived in garrets or cellars: 'In these

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(57) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 176.
(58) Ibid. p. 176 citing a letter from a visitor of the 'Society for Benevolent Visitation of the Destitute Sick'.
(59) Symons, op.cit. pp. 114-19.
(60) J. Smith, The Grievances of the Working Classes . . . (Glas., 1846), p. 20.
(61) Ibid.
(62) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 43-44, 169.
(63) The respectability and industriousness of such people was constantly emphasised. Smith, op.cit. p. 18.
(64) e.g. single room in north, west or south cost £3-10-0 (£3.50) - £4-4-0 (£4.20) p.a.
2 rooms (or kitchen and bedroom) cost £6-10-0 (£6.50) - £7-10-0 (£7.50) p.a.
3 rooms cost £8-10-0 (£8.50) - £12-12-0 (£12.60) p.a.
Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 165.

horrid dens the most abandoned characters of the city are collected, from whence they nightly issue to disseminate diseases, and to pour upon the town every species of crime and abomination'.(65) No doubt among the occupants of the wynds there were those with enough money and education to do better,(66) nevertheless for a large number there was nothing but grinding poverty and a life style offering nothing at all.

To meet the problems of indigence certain provisions were made for charity. The fourteen Incorporations all made provision. Twelve out of the fourteen paid at least £100 a year, several paid much more. The Tailors had paid on average £574 p.a. for the years 1830-5. The Weavers in 1833 paid more than £413, the Wrights £306, and the Hammermen and Maltmen over £300. Altogether in 1833 the Trades House and the fourteen Incorporations supplied £5000 for charitable purposes.(67)

Medical charity was also provided, both formally in the shape of hospitals and other institutions, and informally through the willingness of doctors to treat patients regardless of their ability to pay:(68)

' . . . our medical gentlemen never refuse to go to any person; but how they are paid I know not, but I never knew them refuse to go'.(69)

Official opinion maintained that Glasgow surpassed everywhere in Britain or Ireland (excepting Dublin) by the extent of its hospital accommodation and the freedom with which the people were able to avail themselves of it.(70) In 1840 approximately 10 per cent of the population (27,805 people) received free medical aid at a cost of

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(65) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 44, 169; see also Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 51.
(66) Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population, P.P., 1842, (Great Britain) (H-L) XXVI, p. 132.
(67) Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Local Reports Part II, P.P., 1836, (32) XXIII, p. 38 (hereinafter cited as Munic. Corps. Scot., P.P., 1836, (32) XXIII); see also Appendix XVI.
(68) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 173.
(69) Thos. Malloch, hand-loom weaver, S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 2704.
(70) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 173.

£10,925-11-4 (£10,925.57).(71)

Other institutions which provided charity were Hutcheson's Hospital, the House of Refuge, the Deaf and Dumb Institute, the Old Man's Friend Society, the Seaman's Friend Society, the Widows Fund and of course the churches.(72) Set against the appalling conditions in existence in parts of the city however, the efficacy of such charity must remain open to doubt.

II

'Glasgow has its full share of the social incongruities for which the present age is remarkable - vast fortunes and luxurious houses in one district, masses of poverty and misery in another.'(73) Given such a society of extremes, relations between the classes might well come to a position of stark confrontation, fostering the development of a class consciousness and a class struggle. Confrontation might however be lessened by the existence of practices or characteristics working to blur the sharp lines of division, such as prospects of social mobility; an education system seeking to minimise differences and encourage social mobility; the sharing of the same aspirations and values by the working and middle classes.

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that Glasgow society did hold out prospects of social mobility. Near contemporary commentators remarked on the relative classlessness of Glasgow society and attributed this to two events: firstly the American War whereby the development of the sugar and cotton trades and the expansion of industry led to a narrowing of the gap between merchant and tradesman;(74) and secondly the opening of the public coffee-room in 1781 whereby

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(71) See Appendix XVII.
(72) For a complete list see Appendix XVIII.
(73) Chamb. Edin. Journal, 9, 4 Mar. 1848.
(74) J. Strang, Glasgow and its Clubs (Glas., 1864), p. 214, in W. H. Mathew, 'The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students 1740-1839', P & P, XXXIII (1966), p. 80.

'the absurd distinction of rank in a manufacturing town has disappeared. Wealth is not now the criterion of respect, for persons even in the inferior walks of life who conduct themselves with propriety, have a higher place assigned them in society, than at any former period of the history of the City'.(75)

However this may have been, there is evidence that social mobility was possible. Striking instances were often cited:

> there have been more persons risen to wealth and eminence of hand-loom weavers than of all other trades put together in Scotland; I could name 40 or 50 people who were hand-loom weavers who are now men of capital and character filling high situations. Two late Lord Provosts of Glasgow (Monteith and Dalgleish) were hand-loom weavers in my remembrance.(76)

Whether the openings in fact for this sort of rise were as frequent as is thought is largely irrelevant. What is important is the belief that it was possible to rise to a position of wealth and eminence. Equally as apparent was the horror of falling to the position of a labourer: 'In this part of the country, the Scotch do not show much disposition for labouring work; they would rather go to trades. Even the hand-loom weavers, whose wages are so low do not either themselves attempt to be labourers, or bring up their children to it'.(77)

Some evidence of the prospect of and desire for social advancement may be seen in the character and extent of Glasgow's educational institutions: the University, the Andersonian Institute, the Mechanics' Institute and the schools.

The University dated from 1451 and provided a variety of courses. In 1824 it had about 1240 students, the average age of entry being 14. Fees were low and bursaries available. In the mid 1820s the maximum

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(75) Cleland, Enumeration of Inhabitants, pp. 258-9.
(76) J. Kingan, S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 166.
(77) Wm. Dixon, Irish Poor Rep., 1835, p. 114.

outlay for one academic year was £20.(78) Consequently the social composition of the University differed greatly from that of English Universities: 61.3 per cent of Glasgow students were the sons of tenant farmers, businessmen or artisans, while 66.5 per cent of Cambridge students were the sons of Churchmen, nobles or landowners.(79) A large percentage of Glasgow students were working-class.(80) In the 1790s, working-class students equalled 25 per cent of the total student body, the largest group outside of 'Industry and Commerce' - a group which itself contained approximately 48 per cent working-class students.(81) Though by the 1830s the middle classes had become the predominant social group, nevertheless working-class students still remained a significant proportion. These working-class students were probably the sons of skilled artisans and small master craftsmen - those profiting from the growth in wealth and commerce. It was possible therefore for the better off artisans to contemplate some sort of higher education, and an education increasingly geared to an expanding industrial economy. Education at the highest level was not the exclusive prerogative of one section of society, thus it could and did lessen the chances of a stark confrontation between social classes.

Nor was the University the only path for the adult wishing to extend his education other facilities existed in the shape of the Andersonian Institute, the Mechanics' Institute and evening schools (though these were more geared to children).

The Andersonian Institute was founded in 1796 to supplement the existing curricula of the burgh's older schools without directly encroaching on the preserves of the University. Its main raison d'etre(81a) was a 'complete scientific course on physics and chemistry with their

(78) Mathew, op.cit. p. 83. I am indebted to this excellent article for most of this material on the University.
(79) Ibid. p. 82.
(80) Ibid. p. 90.
(81) See Appendix XIX; Mathew, op.cit. p. 80.
(81a) Quoted in Smout, op.cit. p. 447. Much of this paragraph is based on Smout.

application to the arts and manufactures'. It also offered courses on mathematics, botany and agriculture. Between 500 to 1000 students attended in a year, half of whom were women. Not all the education given was of the highest level: two thirds of the physics and chemistry courses were designated 'popular' consisting of 'pleasing and interesting experiments' in which the Professor amused the students. Nevertheless it was well attended, therefore filling a gap, and the Andersonian did contribute to the education of the working classes in other indirect ways: George Birkbeck started a popular science course there in 1799 which attracted many mechanics and led eventually to the Mechanics' Institute of 1823.

In 1823 the Mechanics' Institute had 1000 students; the average attendance in the 1830s was around 500. Students were drawn from about forty different trades, though by the 1840s only one third were 'mechanics' as Table IV shows:(82)

TABLE IV

GLASGOW MECHANICS' INSTITUTE 1847

Workmen in various trades	224
Employers and professional men ..	92
Clerks and Warehousemen	264
Students, teachers etc.	20
	600
Mechanics as % of total =	37.3

Yet a contemporary commentator maintained 'This Institution is essentially a working man's society, and should be so regarded even when its members consisted of one third "clerks and warehousemen"', since he regarded 'clerks and warehousemen' as equal in status to mechanics.(83) Furthermore mechanics' institutes were valued by the working classes.(84)

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(82) A. R. Thompson, An Enquiry into the Reading Habits of the Working Classes in Scotland from 1830-40, Glas. B. Litt. Thesis 1962 p. 254.

(83) J. W. Hudson, The History of Adult Education . . . (London, 1851), p. 86 quoted in E. Royle, 'Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860', H. J., XIV (1971), p. 312.

(84) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.

By far the greatest amount of education (in terms of quantity) was of course provided by schools. According to the Education Inquiry of 1834[85] Glasgow had 212 schools, 237 teachers and 16,199 pupils who were taught a variety of subjects including reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, elocution, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, composition, book-keeping and mathematics. There were also in 1829, 106 Sabbath schools with 158 teachers and 4668 pupils; 3 adult Sabbath schools with 3 teachers and 79 students.

The quality of education provided in these schools is, it must be said open to doubt. The Rev. George Lewis editor of the Scottish Guardian had called Scotland a 'half-educated' nation in 1834. The Education Inquiry certainly showed up many defects: in the main children were taught only to read and due to their parents' poverty, did not remain at school long enough to learn even that properly; the need for more schools was emphasised throughout. The answer was seen to lie in state aid to education, whereby a better type of teacher would be attracted.[86]

In a comparison of educational standards amongst factory operatives in other counties however, Glasgow shows up quite well: in Lancashire 83 per cent could read and 38 per cent could write; in Yorkshire 85 per cent could read and 48 per cent could write, while in Lanarkshire 90 per cent could read and 54 per cent could write.[87] Tancred, investigating print works in the West of Scotland was impressed by the quality of the schools available.[88] Allowance must

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(85) The inquiry took place in 1834 but was not published till 1837; see Appendix XX.

(86) Education Inquiry, P.P., 1837, (715) VII, pp. 487-95 passim; see also Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, pp. 185, 188; S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 2395, 2398; Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 63, Q. 10, 11; Irish Poor Rep., 1835, p. 111.

(87) See Appendix XXI.

(88) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 20, 79; same view ibid. I 58, 222.

always be made for the biases of those who complained of a decline in educational standards. Often this meant not that working men were less able to read, but rather that they were reading works of which the critic disapproved. Thus a weaver reading political magazines could easily be considered 'uneducated':

> I should think there is a large proportion, whom I cannot properly call educated; most of them can read and write; and there is a great class of persons who are involved in crime afterwards, who can read and write but who have not gone much further; who have learnt the rudiments of education but nothing more. The number of persons who really have been educated, that is to say, who, in addition to reading and writing, have read books of any value, is not so great as it should be, certainly; . . .(89)

Nor did a decline in a library's circulation of books necessarily mean a decline in reading:

> There is a judiciously(90) selected library in the village /Calton/; its terms are unusually moderate; but the poor weaver, though the ticket to it were presented to him gratis, has little time to spare for reading, and that little he prefers to spend in perusing the newspapers and other periodicals in search of some panacea for the accumulating calamities of his hard lot.(91)

Where a library met the needs of the people it thrived, often outpacing the original benefactor's generosity as happened in the one set up by Joseph Browne. This lasted for two to three years, and had a large Irish contingent of subscribers who soon exhausted its 200 volumes.(92) The habit of reading was also maintained via book societies. These were run on the same lines as circulating libraries except that the books belonged to the readers themselves, many of whom came from the working classes.(93)

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(89) A. Alison, S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 2599; see also Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 46.
(90) This word 'judiciously' probably explains much.
(91) Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 25.
(92) Irish Poor Rep., 1835, p. 112; see also Child Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, i 71, No. 137.
(93) Cleland, The Former and Present State, p. 83.

Further evidence of the extent of literacy among at least sections of the working classes in Glasgow may be seen in the amount, variety and style of the Unstamped press. Thirty-four Unstamped papers are known to have existed in this period covering every aspect of life from politics to the theatre, trades unionism to popular medicine.(94) Similarly book hawkers had between 40,000 and 80,000 customers in Glasgow.(95)

Nor for the most part did the working classes consider themselves hard-done by educationally.(96) They were well read, accustomed to using Locke to prove that they should not be paying taxes,(97) and quoting 'Hutchenson in his Elements of Ethicks (sic)'.(98) Greek allusions abounded,(99) as did quotations from Greek authors.(100) They showed a familiarity with ancient history(101) and were commended for their grasp of political economy.(102)

Moreover there can be no doubt that there was a considerable portion of the working classes eager for the extension of education. The great ambition of many parents was for their children to be able to read,(103) and they complained bitterly that their children after a day's work were often too tired to learn.(104) Parents were unwilling to admit that their children could not read.(105) They were prepared to go to

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(94) For a list of these see Appendix XXII.
(95) A. R. Thompson, op.cit. p. 118.
(96) 'Except in the ornamental parts of education, all are on a tolerably equal footing, . . .' H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830; see also ibid. 2 Oct. 1830.
(97) Ibid. 20 Nov. 1830, cf. the situation in England where Inspectors often lamented the lack of the working classes' reading of Locke. R. K. Webb, 'Working Class Readers in Early Victorian England', E.H.R., LXV (1950), p. 347.
(98) H.T.A., 20 Nov. 1830.
(99) e.g. Ibid. 13 Nov. 1830.
(100) Ibid. 26 Mar. 1831 quoting from Demosthenes, Orations.
(101) e.g. J. Dunn at a meeting to relieve the cotton spinners of Aston 23 Jan. 1831, ibid. 29 Jan. 1831.
(102) Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 70; see also S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 1839.
(103) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, I 20, 79.
(104) Ibid. i 11, No. 25.
(105) Education Inquiry, P.P., 1837, (715) VII, p. 491.

some lengths to obtain education for their children(106) - even trying to set up their own schools, as a group of printers, wrights and masons did.(107)

Furthermore they looked upon education in the way middle-class reformers would have liked them to - as a panacea. Education (for both men and women)(108) would raise up the working classes (evidence again of the acceptance of middle-class values and the wish to be assimilated in this group). Education was necessary for the working classes to keep pace with industrialisation(109) (showing the working classes had accepted industrialisation and wished to obtain all its benefits - they did not, on the whole, wish to reject the new industrial society and return to the land). To improve government the spread of knowledge was necessary(110) since this would enable political rights to be utilised properly,(111) and beneficial reform to be effected.(112) Education would also ensure that the press would be free.(113) The working classes themselves even advocated that operative spinners should form a library to stem intemperance.(114) Education then did help, and perhaps even more important, was believed to help, social mobility.

In assessing the degree of tension between social classes, the Unstamped press merits close attention for the light it throws on the attitudes, ideas and characteristics of the Glasgow working man. Comment in the Unstamped was informed, pertinent, reasoned and moderate in outlook if not always in tone. Especially interesting was the predilection to justify their demands and proposals in terms of values

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(106) e.g. Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 49; see also S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 778.
(107) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, i 15, No. 28.
(108) H.T.A., 16 Oct. 1830, 19 Feb. 1831.
(109) Meeting on the Stamp Acts 3 Jan. 1831, ibid. 8 Jan. 1831.
(110) Jos. Miller, meeting of the operatives with Hume 24 Sept. 1830, ibid. 2 Oct. 1830.
(111) H.T.A., 22 Jan. 1831.
(112) Ibid. 23 Oct. 1830.
(113) Public meeting to secure a free press 6 July 1830, ibid. 25 Sept. 1830.
(114) H.T.A., 6 Nov. 1830.

current among the middle classes. Thus on the question of poor laws, the Herald to the Trades Advocate and the Radical Reformers' Gazette maintained poor laws would be a last and not a first resort.(115) Answering objections that the working population would become improvident if they had a constant refuge, and that the population was already too large, they replied that everyone wished to be rich and that the sexes could be separated - though there was in fact plenty of land to be brought into cultivation.(116)

Another facet of this was their insistence on self-help: 'We have laboured to impress it on the minds of the working class and the poor, that the bettering of their condition is a work to be performed by themselves.'(117) Similarly in their demands for an improvement in factory conditions it is true that they made emotional appeals(118) as well as reasoned attacks,(119) but it is noticeable that they also conducted their arguments within the framework of accepted notions of political economy:

> If there were no corn laws, no tithes, no land tax, no swindling paper money, no bounties, no law of primogeniture, nor of entail, if none of these things existed, then we would denounce all legislative interference to protect labour, as partial and unjust. But when the very contrary of this is the case, and all property is protected except labour, and every other interest is encouraged by legislative enactments save that of the labourer . . . who . . . would still maintain that the factory bill is unasked for.(120)

Responses however, were never monolithic in any sense: 'confusion' and overlap existed in their analysis of the economic and political system. This was the period when classical political economy religiously upheld the market mechanism. In the popular version it was represented

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(115) Radical Reformers' Gazette, 17 Nov. 1832 (hereinafter cited as R.R.G.); H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.
(116) H.T.A., 27 Nov. 1830.
(117) R.R.G., 12 Jan. 1833; H.T.A., 6 Nov. 1830.
(118) H.T.A., 13 Nov. 1830, see below Chap. VI.
(119) Ibid. 23 April 1831, see below Chap. VI.
(120) R.R.G., 17 Nov. 1832.

as lacking in humanity and paying insufficient regard to the working classes' interests as producers. In response to this the working classes formulated their own ideology: 'And have the working classes, who produce everything on which the other classes luxuriate, no recognisable rights? . . . . "He who labours has an undeniable right to dispose of the produce of his toil, and to appoint and direct those who shall superintend its distribution."'(121) Similarly, 'We know, that the land derives all its value from the Labour and skill applied to it, and that there is no Capital in the Country but what has sprung from the same source.'(122)

In the view of the working classes, the economic system should be based on co-operation rather than competition, and compassion rather than materialism using happiness as a criterion of economic efficacy.(123) They were also concerned with the social environment as determining a man's life chances.(124)

In answer to the doctrines of Malthus, perhaps the most detested aspect of the new political economy, they argued that there was ample waste land to be cultivated.(125) Opinion was divided over the question of the currency. Though extreme measures could be envisaged such as nationalisation of the land,(126) much remained akin to classical economic doctrine: 'Free trade gives a stimulus to exertion, encouragement to the noblest energies of scientific genius, . . . diffuses liberal sentiments, and benevolent feelings, . . . while monopoly produces sloth, indolence, and extravagance; . . . overweening pride, and presumption in a few; poverty, wretchedness, and servility

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(121) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.
(122) R.R.G., 6 Dec. 1832.
(123) The Tradesman, 12 April 1834.
(124) 'Man, it has been truly said, is, in a great measure, the creature of circumstances, and will be either virtuous or vicious as his situation in society is favourable to the one or the other.' H.T.A., 13 Nov. 1830.
(125) Agitator, 9 Mar. 1833; R.R.G., 12 Jan. 1833.
(126) 'The monopoly of the land must be broken up, and in doing this, we come to investigate the title deeds, and the claims of the actual possessors, to so large and extortionable a share of what was naturally intended for the use of mankind in general.' R.R.G., 12 Jan. 1833.

in the many . . .'.(127) Occasionally one can see a groping towards a more dramatic analysis whereby the existing economic system itself is at fault,(128) but on the whole emphasis is still laid on the classic radical idea of corruption in government.

This analysis suggested that a gaining of political rights was essential for improving the economic system:

> Your condition is a wretched one, it is unnatural and degraded, and in a country abounding with everything which is calculated to make life happy, you are doomed to drag out a miserable existence, in a constant struggle to ward off hunger and nakedness from yourselves and families. You must rise to a man, and protest against the longer continuation of such a state of things. Demand Universal Suffrage, and lay claim boldly to your civil and political rights.(129)

The political system was seen as an organised conspiracy to secure those in power, of their power, and exclude permanently the working classes.(130) Underlying the rhetoric however, was once again a desire to be part of a political system from which they believed themselves to have been excluded rather than a desire to create a new political system of their own. Despite occasional talk of revolution,(131) it is noticeable that for their instrument of practical improvement they looked to the more moderate National Political

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(127) H.T.A., 27 Nov. 1830.

(128) 'If you all continue to work, there is a great probability that many months will not elapse until your employers will be obliged to pay you off. Their stocks will so rapidly accumulate, when the whole productive power is in constant operation, that many attempts will again be made to induce you to stand out . . .' Hume ascribes conditions to a few having the 'power of distributing the taxes; I believe the cause to be our permitting the few to monopolise and direct the productive powers of the country to their own individual advantage regardless of the many . . . Until legislation effect a more equal distribution of wealth, the Working Clases (sic) will receive no better meat, no better clothing, no better housing, no better education.' Ibid. 16 Oct. 1830.

(129) Agitator, 16 Mar. 1833.

(130) R.R.G., 17 Nov. 1832; see also below Chap. III.

(131) 'Revolution is a dangerous matter; but better revolution than slavery.' The Quizzling Glass, 30 May 1832.

Union (a creation of Francis Place and middle-class radicals) rather than to the more working-class National Union of the Working Classes.(132)

Their political ideology then, was a curious mixture of eighteenth century radical thought, comment on the capitalist system and 'middle-class' Benthamite-Utilitarian philosophy. The following extract from the Radical Reformers' Gazette illustrates the eighteenth century influence:

> . . . the whole system is one of robbery, imposture, fraud, and oppression; engendering thousands of vices, and converting into a hell, what was admirably adapted for a paradise. Law is injustice, government is robbery and oppression, religion is imposture and fraud, morality is passive submission to villainy and extorsion, and all social virtues are summed up in selfishness. Such a wretched state of society has originated in the irresponsible power of kings, and the usurpation of aristocracy. But such results are unavoidable, where the people are deprived of their political rights. Popular government is the only remedy.(133)

Yet the same publication later published an article on the value of annual parliaments which could have come straight from James Mill's Essay on Government.(134) The Literary Cabinet took the view that the middle classes would be the saviour of the people if only they would take up their responsibilities.(135) References to Bentham abound, those to Paine are not so numerous. The Herald to the Trades Advocate, the Agitator, the Radical Reformers' Gazette, the Glasgow Cornucopia, the Day, and Chambers Historical Newspaper are among those quoting Bentham with approval.(136) Nor was this admiration all one-sided, the Westminster Review noted and approved the activity of the Herald to the Trades Advocate over the Reform Bill.(137)

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(132) Agitator, 9 Mar. 1833.
(133) R.R.G., 17 Nov. 1832.
(134) 'It is the only safeguard to honest and faithful representation, that the represented and representative be in constant communication. Annual Parliaments would have a tendency to influence the conduct of a representative so effectually, that he would be necessitated to act more in the capacity of a delegate, or an organ of his constituents, than an independent and irresponsible agent, which he professes to be, and acts up to at present.' Ibid. 5 Jan. 1833.
(135) The Literary Cabinet, 1 Oct. 1831.
(136) e.g. The Day, 16 June 1832 printed a glowing obituary of him.
(137) Westminster Review, XV (1831), p. 161.

Some idea of the type of person to whom the Unstamped appealed may be gleaned from an examination of the Herald to the Trades Advocate. Begun on 25 September 1830, this is a particularly interesting example of working-class self-help. It was a weekly Unstamped paper selling at 2d. (1p) a copy, designed as a vehicle for collecting money to set up a viable working-class newspaper - the Trades Advocate. The need for this had been resolved at a public meeting on 6 July 1830:

> we are fully convinced of the incalculable benefit which would accrue to the labouring population, from having devoted to their cause, a Newspaper, wherein just grievances could obtain publicity, wherein the reward of labour could be fairly advocated, and wherein the science of political economy would be clearly set forth; all tending to instruct the operatives in their pursuit of physical and mental attainments.(138)

The object was to improve the operatives' lot: 'While you have to contend against calumnies and misrepresentations of a prostituted press, to be able to vindicate your conduct before the public by a plain statement of facts, and to convey useful knowledge to each other, is the first step of your improvement.'(139) A free press was therefore necessary, and the only way to acquire this was to purchase the necessary materials themselves. £500 was to be raised in 2,000 5/- (25p) shares. Two hundred subscription sheets were circulated to the various united trades in Glasgow; delegates were sent to the village of Johnstone to enrol shareholders among the operatives, and district meetings were held at such places as Port Dundas.

In the meantime the Herald to the Trades Advocate was to act as a vehicle for working-class thought and propaganda. Its circulation was impressive: more than 1250 copies of each of the first two numbers were sold, chiefly in Glasgow;(140) by 25 December 1830, 14,177 copies

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(138) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.
(139) Ibid.
(140) Ibid. 9 Oct. 1830.

had been sold.(141) Its political views were moderate;(142) it was highly favourable to education including female; it was humane - for example it opposed public executions.(143)

The trades union which was to be associated with it was also fairly moderate: its funds were to be used only to prevent a reduction in wages, but not to secure a rise. If a trade thought their wages were too low they could try to secure a rise by their own exertions but they should not resort to strike action before trying to settle the matter by amicable negotiation.(144) It was constantly emphasised that unions were not instruments for strikes;(145) the object was to give employment to the unemployed. In all matters Manchester's example was to be followed.(146) It was hoped that 40,000 might join each paying 1/- (5p) making £4,000, then 1d. (½p) a week making a weekly sum of £333.(147) This sum could be used to employ a large number of mechanics: 'formerly immense sums have been expended on strikes and keeping hands idle; but this mode instead of diminishing the funds levied as proposed, would soon so accumulate, till the labouring population might, to a great extent, be brought out of the present competitive state of society, and set down on their native soil, Independent, Happy and Free.'(148) A trades union therefore was the best means of freeing the people from tyranny.(149)

The eventual newspaper (the Trades Advocate) envisaged was to continue these trends. Its political principles were to be 'of the broadest and most popular cast'. But this only meant it would watch

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(141) Ibid. 25 Dec. 1830.
(142) cf. extracts already quoted and see below Chap. II.
(143) H.T.A., 2 Oct. 1830.
(144) Ibid. 14 May 1831.
(145) e.g. A. Duncan at the operative turners meeting 24 Mar. 1831, ibid. 2 April 1831.
(146) Ibid. 13 Nov. 1830.
(147) There is an arithmetical error here since 40,000 @ 1/- (5p) = £2,000 and 40,000 @ 1d. (½p) = £166-1-4. Perhaps the writer was confusing the situation in Manchester where 80,000 @ 1/- (5p) does equal £4,000.
(148) H.T.A., 30 Oct. 1830.
(149) Ibid. 11 Dec. 1830.

government conduct; call for a reduction of unnecessary taxes and the destruction of all monopolies 'injurious to workmen'; the extension of the franchise to all paying taxes, or liable to serve in defence of the country; and expose all abuses.(150) It had no wish to descend to the level of gutter journalism, making snide comments of a personal nature;(151) it saw itself as essentially didactic:

> THE TRADES ADVOCATE shall endeavour to point out the best possible methods of improving the condition of the labourer, and promoting a general, rational and strong union against the encroachments of wealth and power, as well as to take every advantage which a Reform in Parliament, and an extension of trade may hold out, to enable them to raise their condition, both physically and morally, to that position which those who produce every valuable commodity are entitled.(152)

From the subscription lists (1243 shares were subscribed before it was suppressed under the Stamp Acts on 28 May 1831) it is possible to see which trades such ideas interested. Table V reveals that most of the main artisan occupations of the city were represented. In line with its desire to be fully the property of operatives, the more 'middle-class' occupations such as auctioneer, bookseller, chemist are noticeably absent. Cotton spinners, tenters, factory workers and dressers are particularly prominent. Only 1.7 per cent of those represented here, were to be enfranchised in 1832. As far as business elements were concerned, cotton again is particularly prominent, reflecting its place in Glasgow's economic life and the level of the wages paid to its employees (see Table VI).

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(150) Ibid. 9 April 1833.
(151) 'And while the conductors and contributors may, through its columns, expose oppressive measures, abuse of public office, dilate upon men and manners, and satirize the obnoxious fashions and follies of the day, private character, the religious opinions of all sects, and good morals, shall be held inviolable.' Ibid. 22 Jan. 1831.
(152) Ibid. 9 April 1831.

TABLE V

OCCUPATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL SHAREHOLDERS IN THE HERALD TO THE TRADES ADVOCATE IN %

Unknown	27.1
Dressers	13.0
Cotton Spinners	8.1
Tenters	6.7
Foundry Workers	5.6
Tailors	3.5
Factory Workers	2.8
Cloth Lappers	2.5
Painters	2.5
Power-Loom Tenters	2.5
Spirit Dealers	2.5
Weavers	2.5
Millworkers	2.1
Smiths	2.1
Mechanics	1.8
Potters	1.8
Brushmakers	1.4
Ironmoulders	1.1
Printers	1.1
Colliers	0.8
Masons	0.8
Slaters	0.8
Beamers and Spirit-Dealers	0.4
Bleachworkers	0.4
Bricklayers	0.4
Coalminers	0.4
Driver Makers	0.4
Dyers	0.4
Engineers	0.4
Grocers and Spirit-Dealers	0.4
Hatters	0.4
Joiners	0.4
Millwrights	0.4
Sharpers	0.4
Shoemakers	0.4
Surgeons	0.4
Turners	0.4
Victuallers	0.4
Vinters	0.4
Warpers	0.4
Wrights	0.4
TOTAL:	100.7*

* extra 0.7 results from rounding up

TABLE VI

BUSINESS CONCERNS AND GROUPS HOLDING SHARES IN THE HERALD TO THE TRADES ADVOCATE IN %

Printfields	27.6
Cotton Spinning Factories	9.3
Tenters, Dressers, Mechanics	6.2
Colliers	5.3
Dressers	4.6
Cloth Lappers	4.5
Mills	3.9
Power-Loom Factories	3.2
Factories	2.8
Foundries	2.7
Carpet Factories	2.6
Weavers	1.8
Tenters	1.7
Type Foundries	1.3
Mechanics	0.9
Corkcutters	0.8
Tailors	0.8
Coal Hewers	0.6
Brushmakers Soc.	0.5
Silk Hatters	0.4
Co-op Soc.	0.4
Square Twisters	0.2
Thibit Croppers	0.1
	82.2

Miscellaneous Groups

Port Dundas	8.3
Thornliebank	2.6
Kilmarnock	2.0
Milton	1.8
St. Rollox	1.2
Mr. Humphrey's Work	0.7
Individuals	0.6
Paisley	0.3
New Lanark	0.2
Tron Steeple Kilbarchan	0.2
Springbank	0.1
	18.0
TOTAL:	100.2*

* extra 0.2 results from rounding up

Cotton was also well represented in the committee for setting up the newspaper. This consisted of Daniel McAulay, Joseph Miller, John Gilmour, John Tait, Alexander Campbell, James Nish, Joseph Frame, John Stewart, George Donald, Alexander Gardiner, David Walker, Robert Lindsay and David McKnight.(153) It has proved impossible to ascertain information about four of these: McKnight, Lindsay, Gilmour and Frame. Of the rest, five (McAulay, Miller, Campbell, Nish, Donald and Gardiner) were definitely involved in cotton, either as spinners or yarn dressers, and Stewart was likely to have been; Walker was a doctor, and Tait a newspaperman-cum-coffee house proprietor and brother-in-law of McAuley. Five were to become members of the Reform Association and four of the Political Union, three belonging to both. Six were to be involved in the Short Time agitation and four were active throughout the agitations of the 1830s. Most co-operated with the middle classes.

The Glasgow working classes therefore contained many men willing to invest money to secure a newspaper of their own (5/- (25p) was no small sum in the days when a hand-loom weaver was living on 6/- (30p) a week. A glance at Appendix VIII will show what it could buy). They were confident (and rightly so) of their ability to produce such a newspaper. They corresponded with Joseph Hume,(154) and asked his advice though never in any spirit of deference. They exchanged papers with operatives in America,(155) and had correspondents in Belfast. They were interested in analysing the ills of society, educated, humane, essentially moderate in their proposals - overthrow of society was not envisaged - if not always in tone. Moreover their analysis was heavily grounded in the ideals of the middle classes(156) (they held

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(153) Ibid. 12 Feb. 1831.
(154) Ibid. 25 Sept., 2 Oct., 4 Dec. 1830, 29 Jan. 1831.
(155) Ibid. 30 Oct. 1830.
(156) e.g. Joseph Miller maintained the working classes wished to become capitalists. Ibid. 5 Feb. 1831.

no revolutionary views of equality of property)(157) and of a mercantile community - self-help, thrift, independence, a tendency towards Bentham rather than Paine, and a sense of co-operation with the middle classes rather than alienation. All of which helped to lessen the chances of a stark confrontation between the classes in Glasgow.

Similarly the fact that the middle classes had a high regard for the working classes also helped.(158) On the whole the middle classes tried to understand the problems of working-class life(159) - they realised that life should hold out the prospect of some pleasure(160) - and do something about these. Thus on the question of the protection of labour, though the middle classes still objected to this in principle, they were prepared to concede that if other areas were protected, then labour should be also: ' . . . I think, in the existing depression of things, which I would call an artificial state of things, as a general principle, it is unjust that the agricultural interests should be protected, and the West India interest and the other great interests,

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(157) 'They /the working classes/ know that an equality of property in this country is a political fiction, although it has been entertained by distinguished characters in political science; for until there be a perfect equality of intellectual attainment and moral sentiment, equal division of land could not hold as a practical measure for any length of time.' Ibid. 26 Mar. 1831.

(158) Their intelligence was repeatedly commented on, see e.g. Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, pp. 162-3; S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 1413, ' . . . I think the operatives are very intelligent, . . .'; ibid. Q. 1472, Wm. Craig; Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 47, Rev. Dr. Black; S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 2408 'In short, I think that the working classes are just like ourselves . . .' A. Alison.

(159) 'The higher classes, are at present far too indifferent to the condition of the poor. They pronounce them reckless, discontented, dissolute, and degraded; but were their wretched abodes and their general condition minutely examined, the surprise would be that they were not more reckless and discontented; and were their abodes and the general condition of the poor improved, we would not only have less misery and wretchedness, but also less tumult and crime in our land.' Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 77.

(160) 'I know no conceivable reason why men should love the institutions of their country unless they insure to them a reasonable amount of social enjoyment.' Thos. Davidson, S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 2164.

whilst labour should remain alone unprotected, to be affected by the protection given to the other classes.'(161) Nor did they condemn trades unions out of hand; they could see why they arose, though of course they were not convinced of their efficacy as means of bettering working-class conditions.(162)

To better conditions concrete proposals were made in the Report of the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland 1842. These included the creation of a sanitary commission or board of health with very wide powers. As well as inquiring into the causes of disease, they were to 'adopt all salutary and necessary measures for promoting the health, cleanliness, and comfort of the inhabitants'.(163) On the subject of poor laws, they recommended uniform and general assessments; relief to widows, orphans, the infirm and the impotent should be raised and unemployment should be grounds for relief. Savings banks, friendly societies and temperance societies should be encouraged. Means for recreation and amusement should be provided such as commons, museums, exhibitions of 'art and skill' and musical concerts. 'How many drink to excess to shake off depression, or to allay the restless thirst for excitement; and might not these motives be excluded by cheerful amusements of an innocent nature?'(164) Above all, there was a need for much more moral,

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(161) Wm. Craig, ibid. Q. 1330; see also Thos. Davidson ibid. Q. 2174.
(162) e.g. Thos. Davidson, ' . . . I look upon those extensive trades unions and combinations as in a considerable degree the result, in the first place, of the extension of the protection to every other interest of the country but that of labour; and secondly, as arising from the power which the master possesses of operating upon labour to the disadvantage of the workmen; . . .' As a remedy he favoured an independent body to regulate wages. Ibid. Q. 2172.
(163) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 194.
(164) Ibid. p. 195. Watt, op.cit. p. 90 also lamented this lack, though compared to Sheffield which lacked any sort of recreational facility including libraries and reading-rooms, Glasgow was perhaps fortunate. S. Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield (Liberpool U.P., 1959), p. 29.

intellectual and religious education.(165) This does then represent a genuine attempt to understand and alleviate the conditions of the working classes.

An even more remarkable, and entirely unofficial study, was that occasioned by J. Smith, editor of the Examiner. This was a sensitive, explicit, thorough exposé of working-class conditions published under the title of The Grievances of the Working Classes. Undertaken in the same manner as later studies of poverty such as those by Rowntree and Booth, it was not meant simply as a 'sensational' description, but as a thorough survey fully documented and as such a starting point for remedial action: 'It is to be regretted, . . . that philanthropic writers have generally satisfied themselves with giving isolated cases of distress and sketches of individuals not sufficiently numerous to warrant any general conclusion regarding the state of society, or even of the class of society to which the individuals belonged.'(166)

Similarly,

> It is the purpose of this volume not to dwell at any length on individual cases of crime, injustice, or poverty, but to present a sufficiency of instances to warrant general conclusions - to furnish data on which to found measures for local improvement . . . . The cruelties of the Russian Autocrat, and the sufferings of the Irish peasantry, find a ready response in the bosoms of the benevolent, but few lament the miseries that dwell in their own neighbourhood. The only palliative is the plea of ignorance.(167)

For these reasons, the book contained case histories drawn from detailed examinations of various streets; described conditions in lodging houses; the provisions already existing for relief, and suggested remedies.

A feature of its commentary was its forthright attack on moral hypocrisy:

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(165) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 195. Though Chamb. Edin. Journ. 9, 4 Mar. 1848 maintained, 'Perhaps in no city in the world are the observances of religion respected by a larger proportion of the population, or practised with more unequivocal earnestness, than in Glasgow.'

(166) Smith, op.cit. p. V.

(167) Ibid. p. VI.

> Within a few yards of this abode of destitution, are several of the most popular and fashionable places of worship in the city. In the very hearing of the services of these sanctuaries this aged couple are allowed to starve! They are allowed to hear these services, and a missionary is sent to their dwelling to tell them of death which already sits on their countenances, while not one copper reaches them from any Christian society to relieve the cravings of hunger, or to cover their withered limbs; yet Glasgow is a Christian city, and its people are decidedly Christian(?) (168)

Those whom it considered were sanctioning such a state of affairs were ruthlessly castigated: 'We have been told that some of our civic rulers not only wink at the abominations practised in these dens, but that they actually hold properties where the worst characters are sheltered, and that other parties are sufficiently influential to have hitherto induced the guardians of public health and morals to be silent on the question.'(169) Its comments on factory owners could have come straight from any working-class agitator: 'In general, little or no attention is paid to the mental, moral, or religious culture of the workers. The greatest amount of labour at the minimum of wages has hitherto been all the attention given to the workers.'(170)

What was sought was practical remedies: 'We have had a sufficient experiment of parlour philanthropists, that expend their sympathies at their own comfortable firesides and their charities by annual stated subscriptions.'(171) The municipal authorities could do much to lower the price of provisions.(172) Parliamentary representation should be widened: 'Morality as well as justice demands a change . . . though a degraded political position may go far to denude them of self-respect, it can never rob them of a consciousness of their just rights.'(173)

Proper dwellings should be built for the poor and a reasonable amount

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(168) Ibid. p. 24; see also pp. 21-2.
(169) Ibid. pp. 33-4.
(170) Ibid. pp. 111-12.
(171) Ibid. p. 38.
(172) Ibid. p. 108.
(173) Ibid. p. 106.

of cash should be available for those in want.(174) There was also a keen awareness of what Sir Keith Joseph in July 1972 was anxious to combat: the 'cycle of family deprivation',(175) whereby children from deprived backgrounds tend themselves to produce deprived children: 'Fathers and mothers, themselves ignorant and debased, and frequently profligate, rear an offspring to fill our poor-houses and prisons, or inadequately to discharge the duties of any honest occupation.'(176)

The middle-class response therefore, was not to blame the poor for being poor and leave it at that; it was to realise that poverty could spring from causes outwith the individual's control.(177) Likewise crime could be seen to be often engendered by middle-class neglect.(178) No doubt some of this was done in an effort to stave off any possible revolution, or from a desire to improve efficiency within the prevailing system: 'Our own experience, and the history of other nations, teaches us that unless the condition of the working classes - the life-blood of the community - and of the poor, be duly attended to, the vitality of the state is in danger . . . It is our interest, therefore, as it is our duty, to attend to the condition and improvement of the masses.'(179) It may well be in accordance with the bourgeoisie waging the class war in a devious manner via philanthropy. This however, is not really important for our immediate purposes. What is important is that conditions were such (the possibility of social mobility, the range and extent of the educational structure, the intelligent

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(174) 'It is mocking one in the circumstances of this poor widow to simply pay her rent, whilst she is left to starve. Were proper houses built, an allowance of a free room and a few shillings a-month might be granted at an expense to the town not much greater than that paid to landlords for houses altogether untenantable.' Ibid. p. 19.

(175) Sir K. Joseph quoted by R. Butt, The Times, 6 July 1972.

(176) Smith, op.cit. p. 39.

(177) Ibid. p. 101; see also Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 193.

(178) Smith, op.cit. p. 34. For the state of crime in the city see Appendix XXIII.

(179) Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 193.

concern with the problems of the poor, the similar outlook of the social classes) as to militate against stark confrontation of the classes in this community. This was to be of crucial importance in determining the character of radical agitation in the period 1830-48.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUGGLE FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM 1830-2

I

Glasgow, like most cities in Britain was caught up in the agitation for parliamentary reform. In his examination of the response of different cities to the reform agitation, A. Briggs has shown[1] how much this was conditioned by the social and economic structure and by the political experiences of the city. These were especially important in affecting the relations between the representatives of two different approaches to reform: that of the popular radicals and that of mercantile and middle-class groups.[2] In Birmingham these local conditions were such as to promote a fusion of interests (co-operation) between popular and middle-class radicals;[3] in Manchester they made for cleavage and the emergence of rival political organisations;[4] in Leeds a concentration on different fields, with middle-class groups agitating for political reform, the working classes for factory reform.[5] Glasgow provides another example of the importance of local characteristics in shaping the response; though because its characteristics differed from those of these English cities, so in some ways did its response.

The social structure and economy of Glasgow have already been considered, and their relevant characteristics such as the prospects of social mobility and the general prosperity, underlined.[6] As to its political experiences, the two main incidents prior to 1830 were the Thrushgrove Reform Meeting of 1816 and the abortive 'Radical War' of

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(1) Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement . . .' pp. 293-317.
(2) Ibid. p. 294.
(3) Ibid. pp. 297-8.
(4) Ibid. p. 302.
(5) Ibid. p. 310.
(6) See above, Chap. I.

1820.(7) The 'Radical War' was relatively unimportant as far as establishing political traditions is concerned. It was an example of political unrest as a response to economic crisis and as such was tied up with Peterloo and the Cato St. Conspiracy. In February 1820, twenty-seven members of a Glasgow Radical Committee had been arrested, suspected of planning a simultaneous uprising in England and Scotland. On 1 April 1820 Glasgow was placarded with bills calling for support for a Provisional Government. Support was to be demonstrated by a general strike starting on 1 April, and a rising fixed for 5 April 1820. Sixty thousand people in the Glasgow area were reputed to have struck. On 5 April Glasgow was filled with troops, but the only incident was an evening encounter between the cavalry and 300 radicals. That morning however, forty to fifty radicals had left Glasgow to rendevous with a group from Stirling. A party of yeomanry and hussars halted them at Bonnymuir, and after a skirmish in which four were wounded, the radicals fled. The promised concerted action elsewhere did not materialise, and the three leaders, Wilson, Baird and Hardie were executed. This apparently left a tradition in that it was felt hanging had been too severe a punishment: the cause though not entirely forgotten,(8) did not convulse Glasgow society.

Of more importance in establishing a later tradition was the Thrushgrove Meeting. This took place on 29 October 1816 when a meeting of more than 40,000 people protested against, among other things, the woeful results of all the expense and sacrifices of the late unnecessary war: the restoration of the Bourbons to France

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(7) For an interesting though somewhat idiosyncratic account of the Radical War see P. Berresford Ellis and S. MacA'Ghobhainn, The Scottish Insurrection of 1820 (London, 1970). The following account relies heavily on H. W. Meikle, Scotland and the French Revolution (Glas., 1912).

(8) e.g. in the 1832 election references were made to one of the candidates, Ewing, being the foreman of the jury which condemned Wilson.

which seemed contrary to popular wishes; the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, Ferdinand and the Inquisition - all of which had at one time been emphatically opposed.(9)

Again and again resolutions were passed, and speeches made, condemning the corrupt system of representation:

> That it is the decided conviction of this Meeting that the grand and primary cause of all the evils under which the country now suffers, is the radically defective and corrupt state of the representation in the Commons House; and that it is solely in consequence of this that the people have been deprived of their legal share in the government of the country, that they have lost all constitutional control over those who should be the guardians of the public purse, that they no longer possess any security for the enjoyment of their legal rights, liberties, and privileges, that their property has been placed at the mercy of a corrupt and usurping Borough Faction, and that Ministers through the preponderating weight of an undue influence, have been enabled to prosecute those iniquitous measures which have at length brought the country to the verge of ruin.(10)

A petition was to be forwarded to the Prince Regent requesting him to assemble Parliament without delay, and call upon it to devise immediate measures for the reduction of taxation and the standing army, the abolition of all unmerited pensions, sinecures, grants and other emoluments and the adoption of rigid economy. Most important it was to take immediate steps to effect a radical reform of the Commons and the destruction of 'Borough Usurpation' - a system which worked against both the rights of the crown and the privileges of the people;(11) and to exclude from the Commons all placemen, pensioners and office holders then receiving £200,000 from taxation. The meeting also recommended all towns and villages in Scotland to declare their sentiments on the present state of the country.

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(9) J. Smith, Recollections of James Turner of Thrushgrove (Glas., 1854), p. 31.
(10) Resolution 6, ibid. p. 42.
(11) Resolution 10, ibid. p. 44.

This meeting was significant not only because it heralded what was to become a familiar characteristic: that of citing all the 'good causes' of the time, and contained all the hallmarks of the later agitation including class co-operation and moderation,(12) but also because of the type of person involved. Such were

> John Russell, a respectable manufacturer in Glasgow; John Ogilvie, china merchant in Jamaica St.; John McArthur, ironmonger in Argyle St.; Benjamin Grey, shoemaker in Nelson St.; William Watson manufacturer in George St.; William Lang, printer in Bell St.; and John McLeod, cotton spinner in Turreen St.; all moving in the respectable middle ranks of society.(13)

Furthermore, Turner himself, who provided his field when all other meeting places had been closed to them was also a man of position and influence.(14) This meeting, commemorated each year in an anniversary dinner, showed the essential moderation and social mix of those engaged in radicalism.

Each of these aspects - the dissatisfaction with the representative system, the wish for concrete benefits, the demands for cheap government, for rights and for redress to specific grievances - was to be highlighted even more by 1830. For the more Glasgow grew in wealth and importance, the more glaring became the contrast between her position and significance in the economy and the role given to her in the representative system. Though Glasgow had grown so rapidly she was still in 1830 in the position of possessing only a quarter of an M.P. For the purposes of 'electing' an M.P. Glasgow was grouped with Rutherglen, Renfrew and Dumbarton, each taking a turn as the returning burgh. This would have been unsatisfactory enough had the inhabitants possessed the right of

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(12) 'The whole was conducted with an order and decorum which strikingly proved how groundless have been the prejudices against popular meetings in this part of the country. Though, doubtless, the greater part were workpeople, yet many gentlemen of the city were present, besides great numbers from the country, for miles round the city'. Courier, 31 Oct. 1816 quoted in ibid. p. 21.

(13) R. Alison, The Anecdotage of Glasgow (Glas. and London, 1892), p. 211.

(14) 'James Turner, a citizen who made a fortune and a position to himself . . .' Ibid.

voting. The elective franchise however resided in the Town Council (which in turn was exclusively elected by the retiring Council, itself chosen from members of the Merchants and Trades Houses).(15)

On the eve of reform then, most of the 'national' criticisms of the existing system, the hopes for and expectations from its reform, could be discerned in Glasgow. There was the business element, both displaying civic pride in its claim that the importance of Glasgow should be recognised: ' . . . this city, from the extent of its population, its capital and its trade, has the fairest claim to a share of the representation, equal to what may be granted to towns of similar importance in England'.;(16) and hoping for concrete benefits like free trade to India and China.(17)

There was the hostility to the aristocracy:

> If they /aristocracy/ be suffering, as they say, it is all owing to their own blundering but selfish legislation. Their abominable monopolising spirit, and their disregard of every interest but their own. For twenty years they have levied a tax of at least twenty millions per annum upon the first necessity of life, by means of the Corn Laws.(18)

There were the classic radical demands for 'cheap government', for 'rights' and for redress to specific grievances: in particular the unmerited privileges of the landed proprietors, the clergy, lawyers, manufacturers and merchants;(19) and there was the myth that once these rights were fully understood by all then Utopia would be created.(20)

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(15) Local and Municipal Souvenir of Glasgow 1837-97 (Glas., 1897), p.16.
(16) Extracts from The Records of the Burgh of Glasgow Vol. XI, 1823-1833 (Glas., 1916), 3 Dec. 1830, p. 405 (Hereinafter cited as Bur. Recs.)
(17) A wish for free trade was not of course confined to the business community; the operatives too, looked upon it as a boon. See above Chap. I.
(18) Scots Times, 2 Mar. 1830.
(19) H.T.A. 25 Sept. 1830.
(20) Ibid. 23 Oct. 1830. ' . . . That there should be no distinction among mankind, but what merit and the power of producing and doing good bestow - That mind, not money - rectitude, not rank, should be the proper sources of degree. - In a word, that there should be no law, public institution, office or appointment, paid and upheld by the people, that does not, under the strictest economy, contribute to the benefit of ALL, without respect of persons.'

That there was great dissatisfaction with the established institutions can be discerned from the fact that even the Tory press[21] embodied in the Courier and Herald made reference to it, and realised some solution was necessary:

> If the present Ministry can succeed in convincing the labouring classes of the population of this country that they are living in the midst of abundance while they are absolutely living in the midst of starvation, or the severest and bitterest distress - if the administration can succeed in making the merchant, the manufacturer, and the landholder believe that their pockets are full while they are empty - make the latter believe, while he is not only receiving no rent, but actually mortgaging his property to find funds to relieve the pressing wants of labourers thrown out of employment in every part of the country, that every thing in the country is flourishing and right; why then, we think that Ministers and our present system will retain their sway so long as the former exist or the existence of others may be prolonged, who shall come into their places and support the commercial system which they do.[22]

Within the Reforming section of the press, different causes for and solutions to this state of affairs were advanced. To the Chronicle, the cause lay in the Corn Laws and exorbitant taxation, and solution in a reduction of taxation, free trade with India and China, and employment via the cultivation of waste land and the erection of public works.[23] That is, it saw the situation purely in economic terms.

The Scots Times however, preferred to see the 'enemy' in the traditional terms of the aristocracy, and maintained no other reform could be effected till the interference of the aristocracy in the House of Commons was abolished.[24] In a leading article on the unconstitutional influence of the aristocracy in returning M.Ps. via rotten boroughs, it thundered,

> the same illegitimate power is known to pervade everything connected with government, poisoning every measure with the taint of corruption, interrupting the free and natural

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(21) For a general discussion of the press, see Appendix XXIV.
(22) Courier, 12 Jan. 1830; see also Herald, 5 Feb. 1830.
(23) Chronicle, 8 Feb. 1830.
(24) Scots Times, 5 Jan., 27 Feb. 1830.

> motions of the political machine, and threatening in time totally to destroy the balance of the Constitution. It is this monstrous influence, openly exercised in the teeth of the law, that controls ministers and counteracts their best intentions - that prevents everything like reform or amelioration of our institutions - that supports every abuse - that creates monopolies - that perpetuates large military establishments - that refuses to reduce taxation - that levies a tax of millions on the bread of the people in the shape of the corn laws - and, in short, that is the fruitful parent of every venal, odious, and worthless feature in our political system. Until the Constitution be purged of the canker, we see no remedy for political abuses, and no end to the enormous expenditure that presses upon the industry and exhausts the resources of the country.(25)

Remedy was now seen to lie in parliamentary reform. By June 1830 the Scots Times was discussing how reform should be effected,(26) having abandoned its earlier notion that the Duke of Wellington would succeed via Tory men and Whig measures,(27) (though the Chronicle now thought the cause was regressing).(28)

The Chronicle attempted to lead the reform movement, closely followed by the Saturday (Evening) Post, while a weak radicalism was also embodied in the Free Press; and to the right of it, the Scots Times which saw everything in orthodox Whig terms. Conservatism had its champions in the Courier and the Herald. Throughout the agitation, the Courier was the stronger of the two in its criticism and comment: advising Conservatives to conserve energy to fight back,(29) while the Herald often wished merely for peace.(30) In the middle between Reformers and Conservatives was to be when it came on the scene in 1832, the Scottish Guardian.(31)

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(25) Ibid. 6 Mar. 1830.
(26) It favoured Russell's proposals, maintaining reform would not be carried 'either by the clamour of the Demagogue, or the noise of the million; but by the mild, temperate and judicious tact of the firm and enlightened statesman.' Ibid. 1 June 1830.
(27) Ibid. 9 Feb. 1830.
(28) Chronicle, 31 May 1830.
(29) e.g. Courier, 1 Feb. 1831.
(30) Herald, 23 May 1831.
(31) 'We believe Reform to be a great healing and conservative measure, which will knit the hearts of the middling classes to the Constitution, secure a strong and efficient government, consolidate public liberty and check popular excesses.' Scottish Guardian, 17 Jan. 1832.

The climate of opinion favourable to change was given point and direction by specific events in 1830; in particular the advent of the new reign, the French Revolution of 1830, and the visit of Joseph Hume to Glasgow in September 1830. The new reign was eagerly welcomed: 'No period could be more favourable than the present to Petition for Reform; on the commencement of a new and auspicious reign, and on the eve of the opening of a parliament which had received a great addition in number to the standard of liberality.'(32)

Of more importance however, in the Glasgow context was the French Revolution and Hume's visit in September. The role of the French Revolution in the subsequent reform agitation has gone the usual round of historical controversy. G. M. Trevelyan had no doubts about its role: ' . . . the French Revolution of 1830 did more than affect the elections. It gave Englishmen the sense of living in a new era, when great changes could be safely made. To act boldly on behalf of the people, it was seen,did not produce anarchy as the Tories had argued ever since 1789. Rather, it was half-measures that were dangerous, and resistance to the people that was fatal'.(33) N. Gash however, has revised this opinion. He has conclusively shown that the July Revolution did not affect the elections of 1830,(34) and by concentrating on its electoral effects, seems unwilling to credit it with any positive results.(35)

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(32) Wm. Cameron, meeting 2 Oct. 1830, H.T.A. 9 Oct. 1830.
(33) G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century and After 1782-1919 (London, 1948), p. 228.
(34) N. Gash, 'English Reform and French Revolution in the General Election of 1830', in ed. Pares and Taylor, Essays presented to Sir Lewis Namier (London, 1956), pp. 258-88.
(35) 'Englishmen of moderate views (and in 1830 they probably constituted the bulk of the electorate) were prepared to admit defects in their constitution and wished to have them reformed; but they could not see that there was any essential similarity between the political situation in France and in England. Even in the charitable efforts made to relieve the victims of the fighting in Paris, the same attitude was apparent. Meetings were held in many parts of the country for the joint purpose of congratulating the French and raising subscriptions to assist those who had suffered in the struggle. But it was a general movement and not confined to the Radicals; and speeches made on such occasions struck the same note of robust, humanitarian and slightly complacent approval'. Ibid. pp. 269-70.

This is however, to underestimate the value of the French Revolution merely as an incident which maintained the interest in reform. The fact that meetings were held in Glasgow provided impetus, and not only in a vague or general sense, for the issue of parliamentary reform was discussed.(36) The press of the time, both the Stamped and the Unstamped did credit the French Revolution with an enlightening effect, giving some coherence to attitudes. An example from the Stamped press illustrates the conviction that the French Revolution could have nothing but a favourable effect on the reform movement:

> the great thing which the Duke has to dread is, the triumph of constitutional principles in France. This it is which will round every impassioned period, and give point to every liberal argument. The people of England are not likely to remain under the feet of the Borough Oligarchy, when France enjoys a just system of representation. They will insist on Parliamentary Reform, on economy and retrenchment, on amendment in the administration of law, on the destruction of exclusive companies, and on the repeal of the duties which sustain monopolies. Success may not come in a single Session, but one abuse will fall after another, until the will of the bulk of the people actuates the legislature.(37)

While speaking on behalf of the operatives, the Herald to the Trades Advocate displayed that civic pride which was to become a characteristic of the agitation: surely the intelligence of the British mechanic and labourer was not inferior to the Parisian? 'Yes, the Parisian workmen, - the French people whom we have been, falsely taught, from our infancy, to estimate as a vain and frivolous race of beings, . . . have written, . . . what the working classes of all nations may and ought to do; and shall the workmen of Glasgow, with whom originated Mechanics' Institutions, the benefits of which have

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(36) Meeting 9 Sept. 1830, Scots Times, 11 Sept. 1830.
(37) Chronicle, 16 Aug. 1830.

extended over and enlightened the empire . . . shall they refuse to bring their talents to bear upon the more important principles of moral and politcal economy?'(38)

Furthermore once the agitation had begun on a viable scale, reference was still to be made to the French Revolution: as at the Trades Political Dinner of 3 January 1831 where both McAulay and Davidson paid tribute to it.(39)

Still more important in keeping the action moving forward was the visit of Joseph Hume in September. A public dinner was held on 15 September 1830 where all the 'usual' charges against the unreformed system were made: the aristocracy was ruining the country and only parliamentary reform could save it. Law reform, trial by jury, free trade (especially in corn, and to India and China) and the liberty of the press were among the reforms demanded. Special emphasis was laid on the necessity for burgh reform. The example of France was hailed as a demonstration of what a people could accomplish when united on behalf of their rights. The necessity of the ballot was emphasised: 'What could have prevented the valorous French from falling a prey to that monster, tyranny, but the election by ballot.' Appeals were made to Glasgow's civic pride: 'Glasgow ought not to be less distinguished for its wise and liberal civic institutions, than for the extent of its manufactures, its commerce, and its wealth.'(40) The dinner was a great success: 'such a meeting as is calculated to promote the dissemination of useful political truths and the establishment of sound principles of legislation and government'.(41)

Nor did Hume's activities in Glasgow stop merely at this dinner. On 15 September 1830 a deputation from several trades visited Hume to explain the bad effects which could result from the introduction of the Truck system. At the same time the operatives presented an

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(38) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.
(39) Scots Times, 8 Jan. 1831.
(40) Ibid. 18 Sept. 1830.
(41) Ibid.

address to him, expressing their admiration of him, and asking him to explain to them, his political principles respecting taxation; the reduction of all unnecessary government expense; the law of primogeniture and entail; the best means of effecting a full, fair and free representation of the people in parliament; Truck; and the best means of strengthening the government against aristocratic influence. They also wished to know how the working classes could 'raise ourselves to that standard of moral rectitude, of political importance and social comfort, which the vast resources of this manufacturing and commercial nation, supported by our industry and skill, aided by the rapid progress of knowledge and science entitle us to enjoy'.(42)

On 24 September 1830 a meeting for this purpose was held. One thousand nine hundred tickets were sold and Wallace of Kelly M.P. for Greenock also attended. The chair was taken by Alexander Campbell(43) who displayed that consciousness of working-class worth and dignity which was to be a hallmark of the Glasgow working classes: 'The Working Classes, on whom depend the whole fabric of society, should now begin to think more of themselves. On them depended all pensions, sinecures and taxes; the army and the navy were upheld by the produce of their labour; . . .'(44)

Nevertheless no class hostility was shown. John Stewart in proposing the first resolution displayed the other marked characteristic of Glasgow working-class agitation - moderation: 'He [J. Stewart] was one who was disposed to respect the highest grades of society; he did not wish to destroy every distinction among men, because he considered that different degrees preserved, or tended to preserve, decorum and good manners in society. He would, therefore, give honour to whom honour was due, and pay tribute where it is justly required, to the support of government and good institutions.'(45)

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(42) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.
(43) An Owenite who was engaged in much agitation and in many places throughout the period.
(44) H.T.A., 2 Oct. 1830.
(45) Ibid.

Hume disposed of the question of Truck by maintaining no more would be heard of it, once they had proper representatives chosen by the people. Four resolutions were passed declaring that frequent correspondence between the legislature and the working classes 'whose condition and views they ought to represent' would produce great national improvement; that the French Revolution had demonstrated that 'a well-informed working population is necessary to the preservation of public morals, genuine freedom and national security'; indicating 'the necessity of a more extensive circulation of moral and political knowledge among all ranks' preparatory to reform; and congratulating the Parisian operatives. Hume's visit was to have further importance in that it induced the Committee of Trades to promote a meeting on 2 October 1830 in favour of reform.

II

Accordingly, given this background of interest in reform, it is not surprising to find that Glasgow responded at all the high points and crises in reform agitation. While the advent of the Grey Ministry in November 1830 was not particularly noted: the press asked plaintively why Glasgow was behind Edinburgh, Haddington and Ayr in making her wishes for reform known to the government,(46) nevertheless by December reform meetings were being held. On 6 December 1830 the Merchants and Trades House simultaneously held meetings to petition for reform.(47) On 15 December the Weavers Incorporation also petitioned;(48) on 18 December a meeting of the inhabitants was held under the chairmanship of the Lord Provost.(49)

A number of important features characterising the agitation were evident: from the beginning even the Town Council, though it could be said to be a beneficiary under the old system, since it was self-

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(46) Scots Times, 30 Nov. 1830.
(47) Ibid. 7 Dec. 1830; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. II, 21 Dec. 1830, col. 5.
(48) Scots Times, 18 Dec. 1830.
(49) Ibid. 21 Dec. 1830; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. II, 21 Dec. 1830, col. 1.

electing, was aware of the necessity of reform. It passed resolutions pointing out 'that the members for burghs are chosen by the magistrates and council, who in general nominate their own successors and form only a small part of the community. That in such circumstances an extension of the elective franchise appears to be just and expedient'.(50) These meetings also displayed the characteristic Glasgow response: there was a response on the part of the inhabitants acting as a group, which called for, and displayed, class co-operation; and there were individual responses via the Incorporations,(51) the Trades House and Merchants House.

The next major political event was the Trades Political Dinner held on 3 January 1831. This was attended by four hundred and fifty people of whom around a hundred were 'individuals in the higher and middle walks of life'.(52) Daniel McAulay the chairman, and an operative, commented how gratifying it was to see 'the working and the higher classes cordially joining to further the great cause of reform in parliament'.(53) Great play was made with the idea of class co-operation both by the operatives and the middle classes.(54) From now on the Reform press was to urge increased petitioning,(55) and on 1 February 1831 a petition containing 30,375 signatures was dispatched.(56)

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(50) Bur. Recs., 3 Dec. 1830, p. 404; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. I, 20 Dec. 1830, col. 1350; Vol. II, 21 Dec. 1830, col. 1.

(51) There were fourteen Incorporated trades in Glasgow which together made up the Trades House. They had various exclusive privileges such as restricting the right of selling wares to members. The trades with the dates of incorporation were: Hammermen c. 1536; Tailors c. 1546; Cordiners 1558; Maltmen unknown; Weavers 1528; Bakers in 16th century; Skinners 1516; Wrights c. 1567; Coopers c. 1569; Fleshers 1580; Masons 1057; Gardeners 1690; Barbers c. 1559; Dyers and Bonnetmakers c. 1597. It is unkown why the number was restricted to fourteen.

(52) Scots Times, 4 Jan. 1831.

(53) H.T.A., 8 Jan. 1831.

(54) Scots Times, 8 Jan. 1831. This point will be expanded later, see below, p. 82.

(55) e.g. ibid. 29 Jan. 1831; Chronicle, 21 Jan. 1831.

(56) Scots Times, 5 Feb. 1831. Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. II, 26 Feb. 1831, col. 993 gives the figure as 30,975.

On 1 March 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill[57] into the Commons. Satisfaction with the Bill among reformers centred on the fact that Scotland now had a political existence; and as far as Glasgow was concerned, it would be extending the vote to almost every fourth householder.[58] The Reform press pledged support but would have liked the measure to go further.[59] The moderate attitude of the operatives could be seen in their comment, 'Let us take what we get, and look for more'.[60] The Conservative press were disgusted with the measure; 'It is a defective inconclusive, silly, contemptible, and indigested mass of absurdity and injustice - more resembling the thesis of a clever school-boy, than the severe and profound views of men of advanced years, of practical wisdom, and of consummate knowledge in the art of Government.'[61] Alarm was expressed at its boldness,[62] and there were calls for demonstrations against the measure.[63]

A series of almost daily meetings then ensued, but these were all overwhelmingly in favour of reform, meeting to express their approval of the Bill and to address the King and petition both Houses to that end. On 9 March the Merchants House and the Burgh of Calton met; on 10 March the operatives and the Incorporation of Weavers; on 11 March the Incorporation of Hammermen,[64] and the Incorporation of

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(57) Russell was largely responsible for framing the Bill, though he was not a cabinet member till June 1831. The Bill disfranchised 60 boroughs of less than 2000 inhabitants and returning 119 M.Ps. (Schedule A); 47 boroughs with a population of 2000-4000 lost 1 M.P.; the combined boroughs of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis's representation was cut from 4 to 2 M.Ps. Ninety-seven new seats went to England and Wales, 5 to Scotland, 3 to Ireland. Seven large English towns including Manchester and Birmingham, and 4 districts in London got 2 M.Ps.; 20 towns got 1 M.P. each; 26 counties had their representation doubled; Yorkshire (already having 4 M.Ps.) received 2 more, and the Isle of Wight 1 M.P. Borough franchise was to be uniform at £10 householders; in the counties the £10 copyholder, £50 leaseholder and 40/- freeholder still had his rights.

(58) Scots Times, 12 Mar. 1831.
(59) e.g. ibid. 5 Mar. 1831.
(60) H.T.A., 5 Mar. 1831.
(61) Courier, 26 May 1831.
(62) Ibid. 5, 8, 10 Mar. 1831.
(63) Ibid. 17, 19 Mar. 1831 etc.
(64) Scots Times, 12 Mar. 1831.

Bakers; on 12 March the merchants, bankers, manufacturers and traders, and the Trades House;[65] on 14 March the Incorporation of Cordiners; on 16 March the Incorporation of Tailors; on 17 March the Incorporation of Masons and the Heritors of Barony;[66] on 18 March the city of Glasgow and the Faculty of Procurators[67] and on 21 March the Incorporation of Bakers.[68] There was therefore considerable interest in reform - an interest which covered most sections of influential society including the Town Council.[69] The support of the Town Council was especially valued and seen to contrast very favourably with the conduct of its counterpart in Edinburgh: 'We who have so often reprobated their deeds, and who still reprobate the system under which they act, feel peculiar pleasure in ranking them as our friends on this occasion . . . . As lovers of Glasgow, too, how gladly we contrast the conduct of our rulers with that of the shopkeepers, yclept Magistrates and Councillors, who occupy the civic seat of honour in Modern Athens, and disgrace themselves and their country by their ignorance and their servility'.[70] Glasgow then, at the introduction of the Bill had reacted in its typical way with meetings and petitions from each section of the community, as well as meetings and petitions from the entire community acting as a body.

The Bill however only passed its second reading by one vote. Glasgow undeterred by this, celebrated what it expected to be the triumph of reform with an illumination held on 28 March 1831.[71] This spectacle included gas lights, bonfires, fireworks and an illumination dinner.

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(65) Ibid. 15 Mar. 1831.
(66) Ibid. 19 Mar. 1831.
(67) Ibid. 22 Mar. 1831.
(68) Ibid. 26 Mar. 1831.
(69) Bur. Recs. 18 Mar. 1831, p. 416. The Town Council anticipated the most favourable results, 'by uniting all classes of the community in support of the great interests of the nation, /it would/ secure the stability of the constitution and promote and extend the welfare, prosperity and happiness of the British empire.'
(70) Scots Times, 19 Mar. 1831.
(71) Ibid. 29 Mar. 1831.

A defeat in committee in April led Grey to ask for a dissolution. Glasgow received the news of the defeat in 'a spirit of hostility and dissatisfaction'.(72) The Reform press called for meetings to support the King and thank ministers for their courage in the cause.(73) On 2 May 1831 the operatives, organised by the Trades Committee held a Grand Reform Procession on Glasgow Green. Estimates of attendance ranged from the Conservative Herald's 100,000,(74) to the Reform press' 200,000.(75) The Procession included 45 bands, 255 flags and 84 banners. Hume and O'Connell figured among the mottoes on these banners, along with such sentiments as 'Reform prevents Revolution'. Many of the trades had models illustrating their occupations.(76) The Procession took three hours to move from Glasgow Green to Glasgow Cross. When it passed the Lord Provost's house, three cheers were given for the Lord Provost, the King and Marshall Graham who had been in charge of the Procession. At the hustings in King's Park, McAulay called on them to show they were the friends of the Constitution. The meeting passed resolutions deprecating the conduct of those opposing the measure and sent an address of thanks to the King; they were ready to arm to defend 'the dignity of the Crown, and the due administration of the laws'.(77)

A further series of reform meetings were now held to thank the King for the dissolution. These again emphasised the necessity of the measure and the good which would follow from it. On 30 April the Incorporation of Bakers addressed the King; on 4 May the Merchants House;(78) on 5 May the Incorporation of Hammermen,(79) and the Commissioners of the Police;(80) on 7 May the inhabitants;(81) on

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(72) Ibid. 23 April 1831.
(73) Ibid. 26 April 1831; Chronicle 25, 29 April 1831.
(74) Herald, 2 May 1831.
(75) Scots Times, 3 May 1831; H.T.A., 7 May 1831.
(76) Scots Times, 3 May 1831.
(77) H.T.A., 7 May 1831.
(78) Scots Times, 7 May 1831.
(79) Ibid. 7, 10 May 1831.
(80) Ibid. 7 May 1831.
(81) Ibid. 10 May 1831.

10 May the Incorporation of Masons; on 12 May the Incorporation of Fleshers, Cordiners and Weavers; on 14 May the Reform Association;(82) on 17 May the Company of Stationers;(83) on 24 May the Incorporation of Tailors.(84) Such support for the measure further alarmed the Conservative press, now constantly worried by threats of revolution, conspiracy and reigns of terror. Property was being pushed out of its rightful place, and worse still, men of property were joining the movement.(85)

The most immediate result of the dissolution however, was of course the need for a General Election. This returned a House with a larger majority in favour of the Bill. Interest in Glasgow was not centred exclusively on the local election. This after all was still taking place under the old system with only the thirty-two members of the Town Council having any direct say. These were nevertheless reminded that their future infamy or honour depended on the way they voted.(86) Glasgow was not even the returning burgh - it was Dumbarton's turn. Three candidates stood: Campbell of Blythswood, the retiring member and classed as an anti-reformer; Kirkman Finlay and Joseph Dixon both affirming their support of reform principles. Dixon was returned securing three out of the four delegates' votes.

Glasgow's interest in the national elections can be seen from its contribution to the Loyal and Patriotic Fund to secure reformers in the county elections in England and Ireland.(87) On 26 May 1831 the operatives held a meeting to thank 'the independent electors of England and Ireland for their patriotic conduct' and asked them to support the Scottish Reform Bill since the Scots themselves had no

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(82) Ibid. 14 May 1831.
(83) Ibid. 17 May 1831.
(84) Ibid. 31 May 1831.
(85) Herald, 2 May 1831.
(86) Scots Times, 26 April 1831.
(87) Ibid. 17 May 1831.

opportunity of doing so.(88) Even the Herald now realised that to gain the peace it craved, the rights of the people must be further extended,(89) though it still talked of a 'reign of terror' and feared the complete breakdown of society.(90)

The Reform press cautioned the people to be ready to petition, especially when the Bill went to the Lords.(91) On 8 September 1831 another 'Reform and Coronation Procession' was held. (Provost Dalglish had sent a copy of the announcement of this proposed procession to the Home Office on 26 August 1831, informing Melbourne that the people had asked permission for this and hoping it would pass off peacefully.(92) The Home Office was quite agreeable to its taking place.)(93) This Procession was illustrative of the type of demands made by Glasgow reformers. Attention focused on free trade, education, union, the King as a reformer, and the place and importance of labour. Hume and O'Connell were again the personalities most singled out for attention.(94) It was essentially moderate:

> Beyond the disposition in favour of Reform, which was the object of the whole thing, there was nothing more popular than what might have been seen among the higher classes, and on any other occasion; almost every inscription or device was dedicated to Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, Joseph Hume, Lord John Russell, etc., and to reform, economy, peace, the king, and no burgh-mongers.(95)

As the time neared for the Bill going to the Lords another series of meetings was held to address the King and petition the Lords to pass the Bill. On 22 September the Town Council met and petitioned;(96) on 23 September, the inhabitants and the Merchants House;(97) on 24 September the Incorporation of Weavers and the fourth ward of Police;

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(88) Ibid. 31 May 1831.
(89) Herald, 23 May 1831.
(90) Ibid. 27 May 1831.
(91) e.g. Scots Times, 21 June, 17 Sept. 1831 etc.
(92) H.O. 102/41: 115.
(93) Ibid. 103/7: 13. Reply 29 Aug. 1831.
(94) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 10 Sept. 1831.
(95) Journal of Henry Cockburn 1831-1854 (Edin., 1874), Vol. I, 2 Oct. 1831, p. 21.
(96) Bur. Recs. 22 Sept. 1831, p. 440; Scots Times, 24 Sept. 1831.
(97) Scots Times, 24 Sept. 1831.

on 26 September the Reform Association;(98) on 28 September the Trades House; on 29 September the Board of Police.(99) A petition containing more than 40,000 signatures was dispatched on 1 October 1831.(100)

Nevertheless the Lords in an all-night sitting on 7-8 October threw out the Bill by a majority of forty-one votes. The Reform press appeared with black edging: the Scots Times shuddered at the consequences;(101) while in the Courier's opinion the Lords had saved the country from destruction.(102) Once again there was the same catalogue of meetings to address the King, and this time, ask for a creation of peers. On 18 October the Merchants House(103) and the Town Council met;(104) on 19 October the inhabitants; on 20 October the Trades House and Board of Police;(105) on 20 October the Incorporation of Weavers;(106) on 22 October the Reform Association;(107) on 24 October the Incorporation of Cordiners; on 28 October the Incorporation of Hammermen.(108) The 'Aggregate Trades' also held a meeting on the Green on 24 October. This was attended by 30,000 people, accompanied by flags and music. It condemned the Bishops,(109) and spoke of the necessity for political unions.(110) The meeting was reported in the Spectator.(111)

There were however no riots at Glasgow as there had been at Nottingham where the castle was destroyed, at Derby where the jail was destroyed and at Bristol where the Bishop's palace was destroyed.

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(98) Ibid. 27 Sept. 1831.
(99) Ibid. 1 Oct. 1831.
(100) Ibid. Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 8 Oct. 1831 claimed the petition had more than 45,000 signatures.
(101) Scots Times, 11 Oct. 1831.
(102) Courier, 11 Oct. 1831.
(103) Scots Times, 22 Oct. 1831.
(104) Bur. Recs. 18 Oct. 1831, p. 445; Scots Times, 22 Oct. 1831.
(105) Scots Times, 22 Oct. 1831.
(106) Ibid. 25 Oct. 1831.
(107) Ibid. 22 Oct. 1831.
(108) Ibid. 29 Oct. 1831.
(109) Twenty-one of the Bishops in the Lords voted against the Bill. If they had voted for it, the Bill would have had a majority of one.
(110) Scots Times, 25 Oct. 1831.
(111) Spectator, quoted in Loyal Reformer's Gazette, 5 Nov. 1831.

True, the Herald and the Courier(112) often displayed alarm in their comments: true too, there was a popular notion in London and in Parliament(113) that Glasgow, if anywhere, would be a centre of disturbances. But in fact such alarm and popular notions were never justified in the event. Even the Herald had to admit, 'We suspect they will strain their eye-sight before they see any movement in this quarter . . . . To suppose that all those persons who turned out to make a public show of their political opinions would assemble in equal numbers to enforce those opinions is altogether a mistake'.(114)

A slightly modified Bill(115) was introduced in December 1831. To ensure the passage of this, the Reform press called for the creation of peers.(116) On 19 March 1832 the Bill passed its second

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(112) e.g. Courier, 21 Dec. 1830: 'The present state of public opinion, in its worst features, resembles that which preceded the Civil Wars . . . Under whatever pretence the extraordinary movements now made throughout the empire may be cloaked, the object of those who are directing them is the total overthrow of the Aristocracy and the plunder of the Church . . . If we are to have Reform, let it come in its mildest and most beneficial form - let it not prove one of those crude abortions of legislation which crazed enthusiasts and revolutionary madmen would inflict upon a free people'. Similar view, 1 Feb. 1831.

(113) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. VI, 17 Aug. 1831, cols. 158-9, though cf. ibid. Vol. IV, 27 June 1831, cols. 366-7 where Glasgow's moderation is stressed. Some indication of the chances of real disturbances breaking out can be seen from the H.O. correspondence at this time. On 3 Dec. 1831, the Lord Provost and Sheriff asked Melbourne for an additional police force with a moderate allowance to be paid for by the Exchequer. While it was admitted that the people were usually well-behaved, given the stagnation of trade and the unemployment, it was 'not improbable some excitement to violence may arise'. Furthermore, despite the Proclamation against Unions, it pointed out that the Political Union was continuing to meet. H.O. 102/41: 197. The Home Office however, obviously did not take such a threat too seriously: it replied that if they wished extra police, they must pay for them themselves. H.O. 103/7: 47, 9 Dec. 1831.

(114) Herald, 7 Oct. 1831.

(115) Fifty-six boroughs returning 111 members were still to be disfranchised. But the number of boroughs to be partially disfranchised was reduced to 30. This was possible because the idea of reducing the number of M.Ps. in the Commons was abandoned. Each of 22 new boroughs now returned 2 M.Ps., and each of 20 new boroughs 1 M.P.

(116) Scots Times, 7, 10, 14, 17, 28, 31 Jan.; 14 Feb. 1832 etc.; Free Press, e.g. 22 Feb. 1832; Chronicle, 18 Jan., 18 Feb. 1832; Saturday (Evening) Post, 11 Feb. 1832.

reading in the Commons and passed its second reading in the Lords in April by 9 votes. Another crisis was yet to come when the Lords passed an amendment postponing the disfranchisement clauses till the rest of the Bill was settled. Grey now asked the King to make fifty or more new peers. William IV refused to grant more than twenty. On 9 May the Government resigned. Even in this defeat Glasgow's moderation was still evident. Defeat was certainly taken badly:

> It is difficult to give even a slight idea of the regret which pervaded all classes of our population on the arrival of the news of Earl Grey and his colleagues having retired from office. When the outstanding fact became known to the frequenters of Tait's Reading Room, Trongate, the feelings of those present were such, that the speech of his Majesty on the late dissolution of Parliament, which had been printed in gold letters, and was suspended on the wall, was unanimously voted to be withdrawn for the present from the eyes of his sorrowing subjects; the portraits of their Majesties, as they tended to renew recollections of the sanguine hopes entertained by the people, and founded upon the gracious promises of his Majesty, were also removed with respectful regret, to the adjacent room. In the Trongate, when the unexpected accounts were made public, expressions of indignation and disgust were uttered by well-dressed citizens, in such strong language that we could not venture to commit them to our columns.(117)

Once again there was the usual round of reform meetings - the Merchants House met on 16 May, the inhabitants on 17 May, the Incorporation of Tailors on 18 May - and it was suggested that the supplies be withheld(118) to put further pressure on Parliament. There was plenty of evidence of class co-operation; and though there were alarmist slogans such as 'He that hath not a sword, let him sell his garment and buy one',(119) the idea of arming in accordance with the Birmingham resolutions was hardly countenanced.(120) Refuge

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(117) Scots Times, 12 May 1832.
(118) Ibid. 19 May 1832; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XII, 21 May 1832, col. 1135; Vol. XIII, 1 June 1832, col. 297.
(119) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 19 May 1832; see also Scots Times, 19 May 1832.
(120) e.g. Chronicle, 14 May 1832.

was taken in demonstrations of a more foreboding and sombre nature: banners were now black, or white with a black border and contained death's heads, cross bones and bleeding hearts. Those which had pictures of the King and Queen were reversed. Similarly the playing of the 'National Anthemn' and 'Up and waur with them a' Willie' was replaced by that of 'Scots wha hae wi Wallace bled', and 'March to the battlefield'.(121)

Within a week however, Grey was back in office since Wellington was unable to form a ministry pledged to carry through a moderate Reform Bill (Peel and the Tory party refused to bring forward a measure which they had opposed steadfastly). Glasgow now held meetings to address the King to thank him for the return of Grey,(122) and continued petitioning in favour of the Scottish Reform Bill.(123) On 4 June 1832 the Bill was finally passed by the Lords. Glasgow's last gesture of appreciation was a Reform Jubilee held on 28 September 1832, at which 80,000 were reputed to have attended.(124) The falling off in numbers was explained not by a lack of interest but by the cholera epidemic.(125) By that time anyway Glasgow was putting all her energies into the first Reformed Election.(126)

III

There can be no doubt therefore of the general enthusiasm of the community for reform. Such enthusiasm however, was not homogeneous in its nature: different lines of approach in the reform ranks can be

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(121) Scots Times, 15 May 1832.
(122) e.g. Trades House on 21 May 1832, ibid. 26 May 1832; Incorporation of Hammermen on 25 May 1832, ibid. 29 May 1832.
(123) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XIII, 2 July 1832, col. 1180.
(124) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 29 Sept. 1832.
(125) Saturday (Evening) Post, 29 Sept. 1832.
(126) See below, Chap. III.

distinguished. These can be illustrated by examining the attitudes of the Glasgow Reform Association, the Glasgow Political Union and the operatives. Since the Political Union came into being partly as a response to the Reform Association, it is proposed to examine both these organisations simultaneously.

The Reform Association came into being shortly after Hume's visit to Glasgow in September 1830. A committee of twelve(127) was set up to draw up a constitution for a political club designed to further parliamentary and burgh reform.(128) These twelve - Colin Dunlop, James Oswald, Charles Tennant, Robert Thomson, Henry Dunlop, Andrew Bannatyne, Professor Mylne,(129) George Stirling, Andrew McGeorge, Thomas Muir, Hugh Smith, Dr. Richard Millar - were all men of substance. Two, Colin Dunlop and James Oswald were to be M.Ps. for Glasgow in this period. Broken down by occupation the twelve consisted of seven merchants, one manufacturer, two writers, one doctor and one university professor. 'This body was composed of the resident gentry, merchants and manufacturers of the Whig party.'(130)

The apparent social exclusiveness of the Reform Association at once aroused hostile comment: 'We are much afraid that exclusive associations of this sort, so originated and constructed, will do anything but good'.(131) Though of course, others delighted in its wealth, respectability and attachment to moderate reform: 'As a political society whose views are limited to reasonable objects, can scarcely be objectionable to any class of politicians, we are not surprised to find our wealthiest and most respectable citizens taking the lead in this association;' and were surprised anyone could object

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(127) Scots Times, 9 Oct. 1830.
(128) Chronicle, 4 Oct. 1830. See the Note on Burgh reform.
(129) The spelling of this name has been standardised to 'Mylne'.
(130) J. D. Burn, The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy (Edin., 1856), p. 126.
(131) Chronicle, 4 Oct. 1830.

'because forsooth it will not descend to become a mere radical club, and address itself to the passions and prejudices of the mob'.(132)

The 'prejudices of the mob' however, were the last things which the Reform Association would take account of. From almost the first meeting, that is, the one of 12 November 1830 to hear the report of the Committee, the limitations of the Reform Association were apparent. Differences of opinion occurred over the name 'Association' instead of 'Political Union', over the value of public meetings, and the attitude of those who were more forward-looking seemed to result from fear.

Davidson had wished to change the name to 'Political Union' to ensure greater unity, but this was rejected on the extremely flimsy grounds that 'Reform' was more expressive of their object: the word 'Union' as used in England embraced a number of local grievances which had nothing to do with parliamentary reform.

Dr. Millar thought the proposals should be put to the people in a public meeting to allay the suspicion that they were unwilling to meet the 'lower classes' in the cause of reform. Prof. Mylne and T. Atkinson were against this. Dr. Perry was in favour, but only as a means of warding off something worse: ' . . . the public meetings would produce a moral influence on the population, as it would show them that they were ready to make common cause with the people in forwarding the cause of reform. What the learned Prof. Mylne wanted was a nice, snug, little oligarchical club, which would exclude the operative classes. By meeting them publicly, they would be better able to prevent that anarchy and confusion which was so much dreaded, as otherwise the operatives would associate by themselves.'(133)

The meeting however decided against this proposal. This was just

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(132) Scots Times, 9 Oct. 1830.
(133) Ibid. 13 Nov. 1830.

the sort of issue which rankled with a section of reformers as comment at the dissolution of the Reform Association showed: 'From the manner this institution was formed, it could be considered little else than a mere private club. It did not derive its authority from any public meeting . . .'.(134)

A perusal of its 'Rules and Regulations' bears out its essential middle-class philosophy. Its object was 'to procure for all classes of the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, their constitutional influence in the Commons' House of Parliament'. Its attention was to be directed to the disfranchising of rotten boroughs; the enfranchising of populous towns 'which possess a large share of the wealth and intelligence of the empire, and bear a great proportion of the public burdens'; widening the franchise; repeal of the Septennial Act; measures to stop bribery at elections; and special emphasis was placed on the Scottish representative system. The subscription was 5/- (25p), and a member had to be aged over 21, be a householder in Glasgow, or certified to be a resident by a householder or a member of the Reform Association.(135)

That it was not thought to be the be-all and end-all in political organisations can be seen from the fact that at the Trades Political Dinner of 3 January 1831 the setting up of a new body, a Scottish Political Union, was advocated with Wallace of Kelly at its head.(136) The Committee of Trades however, was willing to compromise with the Reform Association, provided some modifications were made. They wanted the entry fee reduced to 6d. (2½p), and a regular subscription of 6d. (2½p) per quarter. This would enable a section of the working classes to join thus 'the prosperity of both would be accelerated and strengthened by the cordial unity in one body, and in one cause, the higher, the middle, and the lower classes of this city'.(137)

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(134) Saturday (Evening) Post, 29 Sept. 1832.
(135) Scots Times, 23 Nov. 1830.
(136) Ibid. 8 Jan. 1831.
(137) Letter from the Committee of Trades to Wm. Craig, published in H.T.A., 29 Jan. 1831.

Such a proposal was received favourably by a section of the press, seeing it as a means of advancing the cause and improving social relations: ' . . . we regard it as the first breaking down of that abominable barrier which a selfish and erroneous political system has raised between two classes of society, in whose union we recognise the surest safeguard of all that is valuable in our institutions'.(138)

The extent however, of the breaking down of 'that abominable barrier' can be seen from the meeting of 17 March 1831 to appoint a Committee of Management. Out of the twenty-seven members, three were artisans - Daniel McAulay, James Nish and Joseph Miller, i.e. 11 per cent. This Committee displayed broadly the same occupation range as the twelve members of the interim committee had: four manufacturers, eleven merchants, two writers, one university professor, two newspaper editors, one doctor, one stationer, one jeweller, one bookseller and for show the three cotton spinners. Where any broadening of the social composition had taken place then, it was more in the direction of the lower-middle classes, than of the artisan or working class. The subscription had not been lowered: this was still being considered in November 1831, and the fact that the Reform Association contained only 300 members was hardly suggestive of a massive intake of operatives. Indeed the Reform Association itself was aware of its paucity, deciding on resolutions in the papers rather than a petition at the time of Russell's first bill because 'the smallness of their number (300) would seem to indicate that the Glasgow Reformers were few, and perhaps do more harm than good'.(139)

Nothing more is heard of the Reform Association till 2 September 1831, when it petitioned the Commons that the Bill was proceeding too slowly and that the delay was especially harmful to the 'mercantile

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(138) Scots Times, 19 Feb. 1831.
(139) Chronicle, 18 Mar. 1831.

interests of the community'.(140) While its Committee of Management, elected on 10 November 1831, showed the same three artisans.(141) The Reform Association therefore was essentially what its critics claimed: a group of middle-class men setting up a small club to further moderate reform and give themselves a sense of importance. As such it represented merely one strand in reform agitation.

Accordingly it was not surprising that a breakaway movement should ensue. The establishment of a Political Union was thought to be necessary because the Reform Association was too aristocratic and exclusive, while the Trades Union was too radical. The Political Union thus represented a third line of approach. Born in the aftermath of the Lords' rejection of the Bill in October 1831, the Political Union saw itself as necessary to ward off catastrophe. Like the Reform Association, it was supposedly set up in imitation of the Birmingham Political Union (B.P.U.). It also illustrated the growth of the idea of a 'Public Mind' (or opinion) of which it was worth taking note.(142)

The Reform Association's answer to this cry for a popular organisation to express opinion and ensure unity,(143) was to discuss it at the A.G.M. of 10 November 1831. Even this A.G.M. however displayed an essential lack of awareness of working-class needs: Joseph Miller asked for a different meeting time to enable the working classes to attend. There, James Turner spelt out the three main reasons for

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(140) Scots Times, 3 Sept. 1831; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. VI, 6 Sept. 1831, col. 1189.
(141) Scots Times, 12 Nov. 1831.
(142) Courier, 19 Nov. 1831. See Appendix XXV.
(143) This had always been a lack according to the Saturday (Evening) Post, 12 Nov. 1831: 'It has long been a subject of bitter regret with many sincere Reformers, that the wealthy and influential gentlemen, . . . should not have been acting along with the great mass of intelligent Reformers which that city contains, but who walk in a more humble sphere in life . . . . For want of a Union of this description the proceedings of the Reformers of Glasgow, during the last twelve months, important as they have been are nothing to what we would have seen had all ranks of the inhabitants been acting in unison.'

prejudice against the Reform Association: firstly the name 'Association' instead of 'Political Union'; secondly the entry money and annual subscription was too high for the working classes; thirdly every individual had to produce a certificate of character prior to being admitted to the Reform Association. He pointed out that the proposed Political Union was fixing entry money at 6d. (2½p) each and calculated on recruiting 10,000 members. Though, in fact the Reform Association's regulation about certificates had been abolished, and entry money reduced to 2/- (10p), Turner felt this had come too late.(144) Glasgow therefore now possessed another reforming political organisation.

The slight 'lowering' of the social 'tone' of the Political Union as compared to the Reform Association can be seen from an analysis both of the committee to frame its rules, and of its office-bearers. The occupations of the twenty-one members of the committee to frame the rules comprised five manufacturers, three newspapermen, two grocers, two tea-dealers, one stationer, one doctor, one bookseller, one operative turner, one of independent means, and four whose occupations are unknown. Of these twenty-one, seven or one-third were members of the Reform Association. The six main office-bearers elected in December 1831 consisted of one brewer, one tea-dealer, one merchant, one bookseller and two of independent means.(145)

In contrast to the Reform Association, the Political Union's objects tended to be more general: they were directed towards maintaining the monarchy and the present Ministry according to constitutional principles; inquiring into the rights and liberties of the

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(144) Scots Times, 15 Nov. 1831.
(145) These were James Turner, A. G. Spiers, Thos. Atkinson, John Ure, Jas. Wallace, Alex. Hedderwick; Maxwell of Polloc was president. Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 24 Dec. 1831.

People, and the correction of all public abuses; influencing elections to secure 'able, intrepid and upright Representatives of the People'. All of which was to be secured peacefully (peace being a hallmark of all political unions). Its subscription was 6d. (2½p) and the popular aspect of its constitution was stressed:

> The Constitution of the GLASGOW POLITICAL UNION shall be essentially popular. Therefore, every individual, no matter what his trade, profession, or calling may be, shall be entitled, on his own application, to be admitted and enrolled a member; - the only exception being that no award inferring infamy shall have been previously pronounced against him by any judge or jury.(146)

The establishment of such an organisation naturally aroused press comment, especially since it occurred at a time when the King had issued his proclamation against political unions.(147) The Courier from its standpoint of unmitigated opposition,(148) saw the advert for the Political Union as an appeal to brute force.(149) By 26 November it had no doubts that the proclamation referred to all unions,(150) and the Glasgow Political Union had disregarded the laws and impaired the dignity of the local magistracy by their meetings, processions and other demonstrations. In short political unions were extremely disruptive of society.(151) The Loyal Reformers' Gazette could see nothing but good in political unions, attributing all successful change to them,(152) and advocating along with the Saturday (Evening)

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(146) Ibid. 26 Nov. 1831.
(147) On 2 November 1831 a royal proclamation called on magistrates throughout the country to suppress every attempt at disorder, and on every loyal citizen to assist them in the task.
(148) e.g. Courier, 1 Nov. 1831.
(149) Ibid. 19 Nov. 1831.
(150) On 21 November a second proclamation declared 'unconstitutional and illegal' all political associations which 'were subject to the general control and direction of a superior committee or council without having received the express sanction of the Government.'; see E. Halévy, The Triumph of Reform (London, 1961 paper ed.), p. 46. In fact it was only illegal for any organisation to arm and drill.
(151) Courier, 26 Nov. 1831.
(152) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 19 Nov. 1831.

Post,(153) their retention after the Reform Bill became law.(154) The Scots Times took the normal Whig line of maintaining political unions were only for emergency situations and should not arm;(155) that the proclamation referred only to Ultras;(156) and on 10 December defended the Political Union against the Courier, which, trying to stir up class conflict, had asked who were its committee and where did they live? To which the Scots Times replied that it had known several of the members for thirty-five years, most of whom were highly respectable and industrious, and none of whom belonged to the 'borough Union'.(157)

As might be expected, the subsequent conduct of the Political Union showed no tendency to revolutionary impulse. On 6 February 1832 they sent an address to the King, approving of the Reform Bill and asking for the creation of peers, and a similar petition to the Commons, both couched in loyal and supplicatory language.(158)

Their range of interests was certainly wider than the Reform Association's, encompassing law reform,(159) petitions for the abolition of arrestment of workmen's wages;(160) on behalf of Sommerville,(161) as well as parliamentary reform.(162) Their approach also tended to be more popular, seeing reform as a remedy for the increase in the crime rate, and social deprivation since enfranchisement would give men a sense of dignity which would lead to moral improvement.(163) On the whole their language was more colourful than the Reform Association's.

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(153) Saturday (Evening) Post, 10 Dec. 1831.
(154) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 3 Dec. 1831.
(155) Scots Times, 19 Nov. 1831.
(156) Ibid. 26 Nov. 1831.
(157) Ibid. 10 Dec. 1831.
(158) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 18 Feb. 1832; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XI, 20 Mar. 1832, col. 490.
(159) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, ibid.
(160) Ibid. 26 May 1832.
(161) Ibid. 30 June 1832. Sommerville was a soldier in the Scots' Greys who expressed sentiments in favour of reform and was punished by his officers. An enquiry reprimanded the officers and Sommerville became a popular hero.
(162) Meeting 6 April 1832, Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 7 April 1832; Scots Times, 7 April 1832.
(163) Ibid.

The Political Union therefore represented another and more popular approach to reform, though not one tending to extremism. It was still an approach heavily imbued with middle-class ideology. A third, and still more popular approach remained: that of the working classes. The working-class approach can be seen in the meeting of 2 October 1830.

It would certainly appear from this that Briggs' thesis did apply in Glasgow. The operatives appeared to be conscious of a separate identity and wished for reform to alleviate distress:

> Resolved II. That the present state of representation in the Legislature, entirely excludes from due consideration the interests of the Working Classes, upon whose interests the safety and prosperity of the nation depend; and that till a proper representation of the people be established, the burdens which now so heavily press upon labour must continue to accelerate poverty and crime, and keep the ramifications of society corrupt and degenerate.

The present state of parliamentary representation meant that

> . . . the privileges of the people are trampled upon, the hands of the executive Government paralyzed, trade borne down with oppressive taxation, the produce of labour greedily and disgracefully devoured by Place-hunters, and Borough merchants; national institutions corrupted from their genuine purposes; Elections of Parliamentary Members turned into sources of debauchery and farcical display; in a word, the whole of the political arrangements of a great nation rendered a splendid mockery, while the pursuit of wealth is reputed the path of wisdom, and MIGHT the legitimate source of all political right.(164)

This contained the seeds of what might become future class antagonism. The idea of the exploitation of an industrious people on whom depended the wealth and happiness of the country could quite easily have developed into a denunciation of 'useless classes' like that of the National Union of the Working Classes.(165)

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(164) From the petition adopted at the meeting 2 Oct. 1831, H.T.A., 9 Oct. 1830.

(165) See 'Objects of the National Union of the Working Classes' especially No. 4 in G. D. H. Cole and A. W. Filson, British Working Class Movements * Select Documents 1789-1875 (London, 1967 paper ed.), p. 228.

It would however be very misleading to give too much weight to this. Much more impressive is the general co-operation, overlapping and areas of agreement, both in respect of the Reform Association and the Political Union and the Political Union and the operatives.

Even in the setting up of the Political Union a blurring of class lines can be seen in that impetus for this came from James Turner who was not an artisan. At the Reform Association's A.G.M. of 10 November 1831, during the discussion of the proposed Political Union, attempts were still made at co-operation: Tait suggested all the bodies should co-operate.(166) Nothing formal came of this; what happened was the Political Union was established with a number of members active both in it and the Reform Association.(167) At the same time each of these organisations contained members of the Trades Political Union.(168) Therefore though the Reform Association had clearly failed to evoke a mass response at artisan level, it had not led to clear-cut exclusive alternative organisations, as happened in Leeds where a similar disillusionment with the exclusive terms required for membership led to a rival working-class organisation. The Political Union resulted in Glasgow, but as this contained men who continued to be members of the Reform Association, this was obviously not the same.

Given this overlap in membership, it is not surprising that overlap and participation also occurred in the agitation. For though the Political Union was designed to appeal to a wider audience than the Reform Association, it certainly had nothing like a monopoly of the agitation, as the Reform Association meeting of 18 April 1832 demonstrated. This meeting was held to petition the Lords to accept the Bill without delay. Its resolutions were of the usual kind (though

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(166) Scots Times, 15 Nov. 1831.
(167) e.g. Jas. Turner, Daniel McAulay, Thos. Atkinson, John Tait, Wm. Bennet, David Walker.
(168) e.g. Daniel McAulay, John Tait, Jas. Burn.

noticeably both seconders were artisans again showing that co-operation still took place): i.e. emphasis was placed on Glasgow being a 'commercial community'; the completeness of the measure was lauded; the £10 franchise was especially liked in Glasgow 'as being admirably adapted to the conditions and requirements of society and affording a sound and permanent basis for the creation of a virtuous and enlightened constituency'.(169) since those not possessing the necessary qualifications would endeavour to raise themselves to that standard. There was therefore nothing of a new, radical,(170) or expressly popular nature in this, yet 'The room, long before the hour of meeting (eight o'clock) was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds had to go away who could not gain admittance - though the meeting was called as one of the Association only. The windows were thrown open, and a large crowd, though it rained all the time, collected in the outside, were thus enabled to hear the proceedings'.(171)

Co-operation at this level is perhaps especially significant, since part of the appeal of both of these organisations rested on feelings of self-importance derived from membership. Such a state of affairs becomes more readily intelligible when it is realised that there were many areas of agreement in the objections of both the middle and working classes to the unreformed system. The analysis of the situation, and the terms of reference had much in common. Images from the eighteenth century abounded: 'The old rotten branches were to be lopped off from the tree of the Constitution, while new branches were to be engrafted to render it more and more vigorous.'(172) Both claimed the King as one of themselves: ' . . . now they had a great

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(169) Sentiments which the Merchants House had expressed in March 1831, Scots Times, 12 Mar. 1831.

(170) ' . . . All the interests of the country were suffering, and trembling on the brink of ruin during this delay. These great interests which connect us with every country on the face of the globe were all in danger: he need but name the pregnant words - Corn, Currency, Church, East Indies, West Indies etc. . . .' Sir D. K. Sandford, Chronicle, 20 April 1832.

(171) Ibid.; see also Scots Times, 21 April 1832.

(172) John Wright, at Heritors of Barony meeting 17 Mar. 1831, Scots Times, 19 Mar. 1831.

person, a patriot King, . . . who was almost an operative like themselves, (applause,) who had risen from a midshipman through all the gradations of rank, in the navy, to an admiral; and through progressions till he had arrived to be their King.';(173) and, 'We are living under the reign of a King whose kindness and patriotism cannot be doubted, and of whom, we believe, that he is one of ourselves - a Reformer.';(174) Appeals to history were common.(175)

The question of the constitution working well was eagerly seized on by both - Robert Craig speaking for the operatives: 'The lie, that we had a glorious constitution - that it worked well - that is (sic) was the admiration of the world; this lie was one of the most mischievous and degrading that had ever been propagated in the teeth of an intelligent people.';(176) sentiments which were echoed by Sandford in December 1830, 'We deny the good working of the system; and we abjure the proposition that that which is vitious as to theory, can be otherwise than pernicious and absurd in practice . . .';(177)

Consequently there was a willingness on both sides to try co-operation, since both realised the value of presenting a united front. There is no reason to doubt that the main impetus behind this was an altruistic, philanthropic one. Doubtless the middle classes did not see themselves as exploiting the working classes, and the working classes did retain some idea of a chain binding society together. Hence the anxiety to show that the operatives' interests coalesced with the middle classes;(178) and that the operatives were satisfied;(179)

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(173) John McArthur, operatives meeting 2 Oct. 1830, H.T.A., 9 Oct. 1830.
(174) Allan Fullarton, meeting 6 Dec. 1830, Scots Times, 7 Dec. 1830.
(175) e.g. John Douglas, meeting 18 Dec. 1830, ibid. 21 Dec. 1830.
(176) Robert Craig, operatives meeting 2 Oct. 1830, H.T.A., 9 Oct. 1830.
(177) Sir D. K. Sandford, meeting 18 Dec. 1830, Scots Times, 21 Dec. 1830.
(178) 'The workmen might rest assured that the interests of the proprietors were entirely the same as those of the operatives. There was no difference, either political or commercial, between them - they were linked together in one chain, which, when raised or sunk, would operate equally on each - (Cheers).' Alex. Johnston, Trades Political Dinner 3 Jan. 1831, ibid. 8 Jan. 1831.
(179) Alex. Johnston, Merchants House meeting 9 Mar. 1831, ibid. 12 Mar. 1831.

while the operatives themselves first thought in terms of co-operation, that is, they wished to join the Reform Association, rather than immediately set up their own breakaway movement, and were willing to help the middle classes recover their rights.

Thus class co-operation could be and was, preached and acted upon: at the predominantly operative meeting of 2 October 1830, 'After a strong appeal on the necessity of all the middling and lower ranks of society uniting to call for a thorough reform, he [Robert Craig] concluded, amidst cheers and applause';(180) while from the middle classes T. Davidson maintained, 'Unless they had the co-operation of the middle classes they could do nothing. A third or a fourth of the higher and middle classes were found to be directly or indirectly influenced by Government. By a hearty and efficient co-operation with the working classes only could they hope to conquer the almost insurmountable obstacles to timely reform.'(181) The Trades Political Dinner of 3 January 1831 was an example of this co-operation in action: 'The present meeting was gratifying; as it showed, for the first time in these days, the working and the higher classes cordially joining to further the great cause of reform in parliament . . . . As he [Daniel McAulay] was an unlettered mechanic, an "unwashed artizan", he begged their patience with him during the evening.'(182)

Nor was class co-operation confined to verbal expressions; it can also be seen in specific incidents. It was particularly evident in public meetings (though this was the easiest occasion for co-operation to take place since 90 per cent of what was said would not be heard).(183)

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(180) H.T.A., 9 Oct. 1830.
(181) Meeting of Reform Association 12 Nov. 1830, Scots Times, 13 Nov. 1830.
(182) H.T.A., 8 Jan. 1831; McAulay gave as a toast, 'The respectable proprietors of the public factories in Glasgow and vicinity, and prosperity to their laudable undertakings.' Scots Times, 8 Jan. 1831.
(183) e.g. Sandford, 'Addressing the multitude . . . he said few present could expect to hear his voice . . .' Scots Times, 19 May 1832.

Thus at the meeting on 12 May 1832, McGowan (an operative) pointed out that the Lords' action(184) had united the people, and continued, '100,000 operatives, whose sentiments he spoke, were determined to support the higher and middle classes to recover their rights' (Tremendous Cheering).(185)

The same sentiments were displayed in petitions, for example from the Political Union:

> . . . the Petitioners respectfully beg leave to impress your Hon. House with this startling fact, that although the great majority of the Petitioners are humble artisans, who, by reason of the limited qualifications contained in the Bill, will still continue to have no share in the elective franchise; yet, they are too much alive to the necessity of what at least seems to be essential, to ensure the welfare and tranquility of the whole empire, as to withhold for a single moment their entire and cordial appreciation of this Bill.(186)

Similarly in the Unstamped co-operation was also applauded:

> There is no such thing as a MOB now; there are only two classes - the ARISTOCRACY and the PEOPLE. Our great meeting on Thursday last proved this. There was Sir Daniel K. Sandford sitting side-by-side with the hard working mechanic - addressing with the mechanic the same people, on the same subject, in the same strain. The giant in moral power walks hand in hand with the giant in physical power. - The mind in all its energies combines with the body in all its strength - the union is complete; the compact dare not be broken . . . The Lords are not yet aware of our real strength.(187)

That such co-operation could occur when the Merchants House had approved of Russell's March 1831 Bill in such terms as these:

> I [Ewing] do so, because I consider the plan founded on a fair, a sound, and a broad principle, - that of population and property. I do so, because I esteem it adapted

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(184) See above p. 68.
(185) Chronicle, 14 May 1832.
(186) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 18 Feb. 1832.
(187) The Quizzling Glass, 23 May 1832.

> to the existing circumstances, and wants and wishes of society. (Cheers). I do so, because I hope that by conferring rights on property and privileges on persons, it will give affection to loyalty, ardour to patriotism, and confidence to settled institutions. (Cheers).(188)

says much for the essential moderation of the Glasgow agitation in general and the working classes in particular. Moderation indeed, was to be the other salient characteristic of the Glasgow agitation.

This may be explained as J. R. M. Butler has suggested by the higher general level of education prevalent among the working classes.(189) This moderation can be seen in the way the Glasgow working classes eschewed revolutionary slogans: they wanted to be like the middle classes. Hence intimidation did not at this time(190) form part of their view of agitation: reasonableness was for ever stressed. A few examples will suffice: at the meeting between Hume and the operatives on 24 September 1830, a Mr. Johnstone from Preston had come to form Reform societies and petition the King, but,

> . . . it appeared that he had not calculated the true feeling of the Glasgow operatives. His strong allusions to the reign of terror, and the field of Peterloo, the account of his own sufferings in the cause of reform, were repeated in the style of 1817 and 1820. Mr. Johnston (sic) does not seem to be aware that a great change has been effected in the mode of thinking and speaking among us, since those days. We do not now require the aid of vulgar or violent personalities, in pointing out the abuses which we are subjected to, from the system of misgovernment. It is bad measures, not <u>men</u> that must first be exposed and removed, and against which all our energies should be directed.(191)

Johnstone had in fact to apologise,(192) and it is interesting that among the resolutions passed at the meeting was one advocating the necessity of

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(188) Merchants House meeting 9 Mar. 1831, <u>Scots Times</u>, 12 Mar. 1831.
(189) 'The cause was even more fiercely favoured in Scotland, if with less success. What would in England be called the uneducated classes have generally shown in Scotland a more intelligent interest in abstract political questions, as southern candidates for Scottish seats discover . . .' J. R. M. Butler, <u>The Passing of the Great Reform Bill</u> (London, 1914), p. 223.
(190) Though the threat of intimidation was to creep in, in the 1832 Election, see below Chap. III.
(191) <u>H.T.A.</u>, 2 Oct. 1830.
(192) <u>Ibid.</u> 9 Oct. 1830.

further educating the people as a preparation for reform.(193)

Likewise their attitude to the 1830 Riots,(194) showed both maturity and a wish to work via the system and established institutions. At the Trades Political Dinner of 3 January 1831, Joseph Miller, commenting on behalf of the working classes of Glasgow, on their 'deluded brethern in the south,' said that Glasgow operatives had no desire to participate or delight in such conduct - conduct which was unjustified since the operatives could petition Parliament for a redress of grievances and had a press to publicise their grievances. Indeed it would only serve to retard reform. He too stressed the value of education, giving as a toast, 'The University of Glasgow, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, and the progress of general education throughout the world.'(195)

Indeed the most unorthodox and radical was aware of the value of good order. The Scots Times viewed with alarm the operatives' meeting of 2 October 1830. Though favourable to reform it did not like what might be termed the 'exuberance' of the working classes: that the meeting had been advertised by placards, and that intemperate language might be used, when, according to it, agitation for reform should take the form of petitions signed in the cold light of reason.(196) Yet Alexander Campbell was to echo almost the same sentiments at the actual meeting: 'He was sure that the best of order would be kept, and hoped those who addressed him would use temperate language, and avoid all abusive epithets, which tended to injure instead of doing good to the cause.'(197)

There was nothing therefore to alarm the middle classes. Property was also respected.(198) And once the middle classes had experi-

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(193) Ibid. 2 Oct. 1830.
(194) In the autumn of 1830 there were disturbances in the agricultural districts of Southern England. For a comprehensive survey of these, see E. J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, Captain Swing (London, 1969).
(195) Scots Times, 8 Jan. 1831.
(196) Ibid. 2 Oct. 1830.
(197) H.T.A., 9 Oct. 1830.
(198) Declaration of the Trades, Free Press, 20 June 1832.

enced a meeting, they too realised that there was nothing to worry about. For the Glasgow working classes (in contrast to those in Manchester)(199) were not revolutionary.(200) Where the working classes had talked of arming, it was to defend the King and his Ministers.(201) Revolutionary sentiments could come equally from the middle classes. For though Sandford on 23 September 1831 could point out that intimidation would not make the Lords acquiesce,(202) yet Oswald (who was to be a future M.P.) on 17 May 1832, proclaimed ' . . . while we are the staunch supporters of the laws, good order, and the rights of property - we are ready if necessary, to lay down our lives in defence of our rights, and the liberties of our country - (Loud cheers)'; and Pattison at the same meeting echoed similar sentiments: ' . . . they would be no longer the slaves of a proud and heartless oligarchy, or be trampled on by a mushroom faction of the hereditary peerage (Cheers). They were ready to sanctify this declaration by every sacrifice; and, if necessary, to seal it with their blood. (Tremendous applause).'(203) This of course, was the last thing they would have done: it was all good rhetoric designed to rouse the audience and in keeping with the language of the time.(204)

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(199) Briggs, 'The Background of Parliamentary Reform . . .' p. 303.
(200) e.g. H.T.A., 12 Mar. 1831:' . . . we prefer a gradual remodelling of the constitution to a violent and otherwise inevitable revolution . . . We believe that we embrace the opinions and sentiments of the best and greatest portion of workmen, when we declare our preference to the gradual remodelling of the constitution, so as to overtake the advanced spirit of the age, to the dreadful alternative of a civil convulsion . . . instead of wishing to pull down by sudden revolution those now enjoying the superficial luxuries of life, we would rather be placed in a condition whereby we could rise to distinction and comfort on our own resources; and through the success of the present measure of reform, we behold our ultimate possession of those rights, . . .'
(201) Ibid.
(202) Scots Times, 24 Sept. 1831.
(203) Ibid. 19 May 1832.
(204) See G. R. G. Kitson-Clark, 'The Romantic Element 1830-1850' in Studies in Social History - a Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan ed. J. H. Plumb (London, 1955).

Thus neither the amount of activity, nor the fierce sounding rhetoric of some newspaper leaders should obscure the essential moderation marking much of the movement.(205)

The essence of the Glasgow reform agitation therefore lay not in conflict either of social class or economic experience, but in loose overall co-operation with the maintenance of separateness and individual identity. The agitation was not dominated by one characteristic: rather moderation, class co-operation and independent action were combined. Consequently at all the crisis points, there was a response on the part of the inhabitants acting as a group (class co-operation) and there were the individual responses via the Incorporations, the Trades House, the Merchants House, the Reform Association and the Political Union, with many of the same people turning up in all - as was caustically observed: 'All the various petitions in this city have emanated from one and the same junto'.(206)

All in all the parts played by the Reform Association and the Political Union in the actual reform agitation of 1830-2 had been minimal - despite protestations to the contrary. The agitation had emanated via the established institutions such as the Merchants House, the Trades House, the Incorporations and the trades societies: the Merchants House held some half dozen meetings, the Trades House five, the various Incorporations thirty, the inhabitants seventeen, all with accompanying petitions and addresses. Other organisations such as the Police, the Faculty of Procurators, the Company of Stationers also held meetings and forwarded petitions.

The main interest and significance of the Reform Association and the Political Union lies in their being illustrative of the different strands in reform agitation; and in the reactions to them. On the

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(205) Though it was just such rhetoric which aroused fears. The sheriff of Lanark sent a copy of the first issue of the Loyal Reformers' Gazette to the Home Office attributing the excitement in the West of Scotland to such publications. H.O. 102/41: 32. Letter, 18 May 1831.

(206) Courier, 27 Sept. 1831.

whole the Reform press was favourable to political unions: one even maintaining they had been the principal means of securing reform;(207) while the Conservative press made cutting comments(208) and hoped they were on their last legs.(209)

The reactions to the Reform Association are especially interesting. These ranged from those regarding its dissolution as 'the crowning act of its honourable existence . . . now that the main object for which it was instituted has been gained';(210) to those who could see no benefits arising out of its existence: ' . . . from the manner it repeatedly obstructed and misdirected public opinion, as well as for other reasons, we have always looked on it as being of a milk and water description'. Its dissolution demonstrated this: ' . . . any body of politicians who can rest contented with the present act, are narrow and illiberal in their views'. There was still work to be done: further extension of the suffrage was needed to secure effective representatives and obtain the practical measures for which the Bill had been only a means. The Reform Association had come into existence as a reaction to the French Revolution of 1830 without a real understanding of the issues involved, and now that such associations were no longer fashionable at court, it had decided to dissolve itself: 'The epitaph of the Glasgow Reform Association may be written in a few words:- Here lies a thing of illegitimate birth and insignificant character, a victim of self-destruction, the death of which cannot be much regretted, because its existence was scarcely known.'(211)

A similar criticism was to be made by an operative, Daniel McAulay, who admitted he had been a member of the Reform Association, 'little to his credit'. The Reform Association had been willing to

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(207) Saturday (Evening) Post, 2 June 1832.
(208) e.g. Courier, 30 June 1832.
(209) Herald, 6 July 1832.
(210) Free Press quoted in Scots Times, 29 Sept. 1832.
(211) Saturday (Evening) Post, 29 Sept. 1832.

accept any reform: ' . . . they were careful to oppose public meetings as dangerous to the peace; even at the very time when the Reform measure was in its most perilous situation. They wanted to get more intelligence on the subject - the hon. gentlemen were for waiting - but the trades of Glasgow would not wait . . .'(212)

McAulay's comments underline an important fact - that the co-operation was in the nature of an 'alliance' rather than a complete fusion; and as such held the possibility of divergence or even conflict. But throughout the years 1830-2 at least, co-operation was more in evidence. It was fostered by the particular experience of both the middle and working classes; by the similarities in their analyses of the problem; by the awareness of each that the assistance of the other was necessary; and by the existence of a shared culture, itself the product of the particular social and economic structure of Glasgow.

Unlike their counterparts in England, Glasgow operatives did not seek parliamentary reform as the only solution to distress. It was one approach certainly, but there were other approaches equally important: self-help and union. Consequently the plight of the hand-loom weavers (which was as bad in Glasgow as anywhere else) did not bring forth a denunciation of machinery or a call for parliamentary reform, but gave rise to schemes of self-help. For example, it was suggested in the Herald to the Trades Advocate that all weavers should contribute 1d. (½p) a week to a general fund. This would then be used to employ a number of weavers at 8/- (40p) a week. The goods manufactured by these weavers could be sold to operatives through co-operative stores, and the money used to employ more weavers. Gradually all the weavers could then be employed.(213)

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(212) Ibid. 29 Dec. 1832.
(213) H.T.A., 25 Sept. 1830.

Union,(214) education,(215) reform - all these were wanted but reform on its own would not do.(216) It is interesting, though perhaps it is not significant, that the Herald to the Trades Advocate when listing the seven measures(217) needed before the country could prosper, took the view that parliamentary reform should come fifth; and it was fourth in the six issues which the operatives discussed with Hume.(218)

The insistence on education, self-help, the acceptance of the value system of the community - Robert Craig, an operative, had advocated the cause of parliamentary reform for the last thirty years, not because of high taxation, or unjust monopolies, or the influence of the aristocracy, 'all this did not make him a Radical, so much as that moral degradation which was entailed by such a system,'(219) - meant that there was no need to advance a separate rationale of parliamentary reform.

In the same way, the lack of extremism, the essential moderation and reasoned attitudes of the operatives also helped to foster co-operation. These reasoned attitudes were perhaps due to the fact that the habits of organisation and order were deeply implanted in the operatives. For example the Cotton Spinners Association was a highly organised body and had been in existence at least since 1819.(220) Agitation for objectives followed broadly the same channels as the middle classes would have used (this is exemplified in the factory movement with its meetings and petitions; and it is not surprising since it contained some of the same people agitating for factory reform

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(214) Ibid. 30 Oct. 1830.
(215) e.g. Ibid. 23 Oct. 1830.
(216) Ibid. 29 Jan. 1831.
(217) These were free trade in corn; abolition of slavery; cultivation of waste-land; reform of the law courts; the people to be represented in Parliament; charitable funds, bequeathed for the education of the young, must be honestly appropriated; and separation of Church and State, from the World newspaper in ibid. 2 Oct. 1830.
(218) Ibid. 25 Sept. 1830; see above p. 58.
(219) Operatives meeting 2 Oct. 1830, ibid. 9 Oct. 1830.
(220) P.P., 1833, (450) XX, A1, p. 82.

at the same time as political reform e.g. Daniel McAulay, and again contrasts with Leeds where political reform and factory reform became separate class agitations).(221) This can be seen in the way that the Westminster Review approved of the Herald to the Trades Advocate's petition to the Commons and contrasted their conduct favourably with that of the Tory Party and the Lords: 'The poor Weavers of Glasgow may be adduced as a worthy example for the instruction of the House of Lords. History has seldom afforded a more admirable instance of self-denial, and yielding of feelings, than the disinterested conduct of that much calumniated class (the operatives) throughout the whole of this excited time.'(222) Concession was to be won by concerted action: hence the value put on unions. The Union of the Trades was consolidated in this period, the Trades Political Union playing a definite part in the agitation.

At the same time, the middle classes also appreciated the value of the operatives' co-operation, their intelligence, education and innate worth. There was a lack of outright hostility between masters and men. The Glasgow agitation thus had as its hallmark an assumed identity of interests, however superficial this might be. Being a mercantile community, divergency and hostility were more likely to occur over economic interests: hence the factory reform question was to become in the 1832 Election, a testing point - a criterion by which a man could be judged in terms of worth to the working classes, and subsequently was to lead to more overt political action by the working classes.

This is not however to suggest that relations between the allies in the reform agitation were uniformly smooth and sweet. There were dissensions and differences and they did intrude. Later developments

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(221) Briggs, 'The Background of Parliamentary Reform . . .' p. 310.
(222) Westminster Review, Vol. XV, p. 161.

merely accentuated these differences; they did not create them. Thus Alexander Campbell at the operatives meeting in the Trades Hall on 10 March 1831 maintained reform would not benefit the working classes unless they could retain the produce of their labour, and even advocated the extension of the franchise to women.(223) And from the other side, the Scots Times displayed hostility to the Trades Procession of September 1831 (an attempt by the trades at co-operation) purely on the grounds of a snobbish appeal to class.(224) Though the Scots Times was to change its opinion on 6 September,(225) yet this was a portent of the divergencies which were to come once the Bill had been safely passed.

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(223) H.T.A., 12 Mar. 1831 where the meeting is misdated as 10 Feb.

(224) Scots Times, 30 Aug. 1831: 'The invitation [from the trades to the "Middle and Higher Classes"] is, in our minds, foolish and absurd, because if acted upon, it destroys the distinctive character of the procession, and, of course, its usefulness. By many good reformers, too, it will be regarded as extremely improper, perhaps insulting, for many reformers, we know, disapprove of the procession altogether, and will look upon the "Invitation" as an assumption of superiority on the part of the Operatives, which we are sure, the latter never contemplated, and would be the first to disavow . . . . The Invitation is a sad jumble of inconsistencies, to characterise it by no harsher name - it is directed to the "Middle and Higher Classes", yet specially addressed "Fellow Operatives" - it talks of "trades and other professions", forgetting, or perhaps not knowing that a trade is not a profession, and vice versa and it indulges in some bombast respecting congratulation to our Sovereign - Magna Charta and freedom - much more remarkable for its violence than for its good sense.'

(225) Ibid. 6 Sept. 1831.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST REFORMED ELECTION (1832)

The growth of divergence among reformers was to emerge more clearly once the Reform Bill was safely through the legislature. This is not surprising: it is easier to co-operate against the established system, and in securing its change, when it is possible to overlook pro tem. the fact that different groups hoped for different things as a result of reform. The Reform Bill had given Glasgow two seats and an electorate of c.7000 (6598 voted in the first election). On a class basis[1] the electorate can be broken down as follows:

TABLE VII

Upper-middle	..	43 %
Middle	.. ..	27.5%
Artisan	.. ..	26 %
Working	.. ..	4 %
		100.5%*

*discrepancy results from rounding up

It was not therefore an electorate wholly dominated by one section of society, though in relative terms the upper-middle class was much more dominant in the electorate than in the city's population as a whole.

It was theoretically possible then, for the other sections of society to carry the election in favour of their candidates, since they constituted 57 per cent of the electorate. This however, presupposes that such a group could hold together absolutely. Such was not to be the case, and this indeed was to be apparent almost from the outset of the campaign: different groups expected different men with different aims to be returned to Parliament. This was not just a simple split between working-class and middle-class radicals; divis-

(1) Using the same occupational categories referred to in Introduction pp.6-7 above.

ions within, for example, the middle classes were also discernible.

Such a split was immediately evident in the press reaction to candidates in general: in their views of the qualities and attributes desirable in a M.P. These ranged widely. There were the fanciful notions of the Scots Times, which, still suffering from an excess of civic pride, envisaged half the cabinet dashing up to claim the representation of a city of such national importance. An M.P. should have great dignity of character, personal influence and social connections. He should be a man 'not only of matured experience, and of high moral respectability, but of considerable wealth'. One should be a Glasgow merchant, the other an eloquent statesman.(2) (Stanley was in fact suggested by a reader.)(3) There was certainly no need for one of the representatives to be from the middle classes, since the interests of all were interwoven.(4) Nor was there any necessity for a candidate to give pledges to the electorate.(5) Once elected, he was to behave with the utmost caution: he should not undertake to extend the franchise till he had had a chance to see how the present system worked; nor was he to criticise the Corn Laws, the East India Co., the Bank, the Church, or the Burghs without appreciating all the issues; or try to regulate the spread of machinery or interfere with the hours or wages of labour.(6) To the Scots Times therefore, the Reform Bill represented not a means to an end, but an end, and candidates should be chosen with this in mind.

This was a far cry even from those like the Saturday (Evening) Post who merely wanted tried reformers to secure 'wise and liberal measures'.(7) The Free Press wanted someone who was eloquent and

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(2) Scots Times, 2 June 1832.
(3) Ibid. 5 June 1832.
(4) Ibid. 9 June 1832.
(5) Ibid. 16 June 1832.
(6) Ibid. 30 June 1832.
(7) Saturday (Evening) Post, 2 June 1832.

hard-working;(8) the Herald an intelligent merchant and an intelligent manufacturer,(9) though both the Herald and the Courier complained of the lack of a Conservative candidate.(10) In the main, press attention focused on personal qualities and attributes rather than on measures, policies or manifestos.

Six candidates stood for the two seats. These were Joseph Dixon, a Dumbarton manufacturer, and the retiring member; James Ewing ex-Dean of Guild and Lord Provost; James Oswald, merchant; John Crawfurd, East India merchant, not a native of Glasgow and a notable exponent of free trade; John Douglas, lawyer and Sir Daniel K. Sandford, Professor of Greek at the University. All claimed to be reformers. Each delineated his personal qualities, and the broad areas where he thought the government could usefully employ itself. Dixon, the last to come forward, relied for the most part on his work in securing the passage of the Reform Bill. He campaigned largely on his past record. For the rest, their election addresses presented much of a muchness. As befits a commercial community, the main issues were free trade, the abolition of the Corn Laws, cheap government, cheap justice; with attention also paid to short parliaments and reform of the abuses in the English and Irish Churches - Crawfurd campaigned on these issues;(11) Sandford stressed his support for civil and religious freedom.(12)

Oswald emphasised that the Reform Bill was a means and not an end: 'Good, cheap, and efficient Government, consistent with the frame of the Constitution and the construction of society in this country, is the object for which we have to strive; . . .'(13) Ewing stressed his commercial activities, his chairmanship (twice) of the Merchants House, his work for charity; his support for liberal principles - he had been

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(8) Free Press, 18 July 1832.
(9) Herald, 22 June 1832.
(10) Ibid. 13 July 1832; Courier, 14 July 1832.
(11) Scots Times, 14 July 1832.
(12) Ibid. 17 July 1832.
(13) Ibid. 14 July 1832.

the first to propose publication of accounts, 'a precedent which was subsequently adopted by Parliament for the Burghs in Scotland'; religious liberty and parliamentary reform. He made great play with his political independence, and he showed some regard for the interests of the working classes: ' . . . above all to alleviate the distress, and to improve the comforts of the labouring classes of the community'.(14) Douglas highlighted his work in the reform cause, his knowledge of the working classes and their conditions, thereby 'making a dig' at Crawfurd, who being a stranger to Glasgow was held to be ignorant of conditions; and the fact that he was favourable to the establishment of an election committee.(15)

The candidates were received by the press in the following manner: only the Free Press was prepared to stomach Crawfurd's candidature; the Chronicle, Courier and Scots Times were opposed to him, usually on the grounds that he was a stranger to Glasgow.(16) Oswald received a favourable press from the Courier, Scots Times, Free Press and Scottish Guardian, each seeing in him what it wanted.(17) Dixon received a mixed reception: the Scots Times admitted he had been a good M.P.; the Herald was opposed to him unless the other candidates turned out to be even more liberal than he was; the Saturday (Evening) Post was opposed to him because it considered his views unsound on the Church, and the debt; and he was not in favour of popular associations for political purposes. It was also suspicious of his reasons for advocating the emancipation of slaves, seeing these as a means whereby the people were to be diverted from taking an interest in their own conditions.(18) Ewing was supported by the Scots Times overtly, and

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(14) Ibid.
(15) Ibid.
(16) Free Press, 11 July; Chronicle, 11 July; Courier, 12, 14, 17 July etc.; Scots Times, 14, 17 July 1832.
(17) Courier, 12, 14 July; Scots Times, 14 July; Free Press, 11, 18 July; Scottish Guardian, quoted in Courier, 19 July 1832.
(18) Scots Times, 4 Sept., though on 15 Dec. it maintained he was claiming the support of the Tories; Herald, 28 July; Saturday (Evening) Post, 15, 29 Sept. 1832.

the Courier covertly: he was not too objectionable, but he was too liberal.(19) He also had his own propaganda sheet - the Friend of the People.(20) Sandford received support from the Free Press; the Courier and Scottish Guardian were opposed to him.(21) Douglas, owning an eighteenth share in the Chronicle naturally received support from it; the other papers made little comment on him.(22)

Outside opinion in the shape of the Spectator and the Edinburgh Evening Post, classed the candidates as follows. To the Spectator, Sandford, Oswald and Ewing were all good candidates, Ewing was a tory but 'if he be not of us, he at least speaks our language';(23) while the Edinburgh Evening Post gave their political affiliations as: Ewing, Conservative, Sandford, Ministerialist, Oswald, Crawfurd, Dixon and Douglas, all crosses between Radicals and Liberals.(24) There was therefore no unanimity among the Reform press about who should be elected,(25) apart from a preference for Oswald. The Free Press supported Oswald and Sandford, the Scots Times, Ewing and Oswald, the Chronicle, Douglas.

Just as there was no longer uniformity among those papers who had once advocated reform, so there was to be no uniformity among those individuals who had once united to secure reform. Reformers now appeared to be split into two 'camps' over the issue of the candidates and the tactics to be followed to secure their candidates' election. One 'camp' was known as the 'Clique'. Judging from

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(19) Courier, 14, 17 July; Scots Times, 14 July etc. 8, 15 Dec. 1832.
(20) R. M. W. Cowan, The Newspaper in Scotland (Glas., 1946), p. 81 states the Friend of the People was the press sheet of Oswald and Crawfurd. From the one surviving issue, it seems to me to support Ewing.
(21) Free Press, 18 July; Courier, 17 July; Scottish Guardian quoted in Courier, 21 July 1832.
(22) Chronicle, 30 July; e.g. Courier, 14 July; Scots Times, 14 July 1832.
(23) Spectator quoted in Free Press, 25 July 1832.
(24) Edinburgh Evening Post quoted in Herald, 24 Aug. 1832.
(25) The Scots Times affected to have no illusions about the influence of newspaper opinion: 'Electors of Glasgow! We are quite aware that any partiality we might express towards any of the Glasgow candidates, would weigh but little with you - it might indeed weigh even against such as we might be disposed to favour.' 17 July 1832.

names this appears to have been the Reform Association endeavouring to rule things from the grave. It backed the candidature of Oswald and Crawfurd, and was a narrow sectional group largely mercantile and middle-class:[26] 'it . . . was mainly composed of the steady, determined moderate men of the upper middle class who have ever been the backbone of Whiggery, opposed equally to Toryism of the Lord Eldon and port-wine school and the frothy sedition of the Democrats of the lower orders'.[27]

In contrast the other 'camp' was more popular in its composition. The Political Union in accordance with its constitution,[28] decided at a meeting on 31 May 1832 to set up an election committee to select 'able, honest, and consistent Reformers'. This would save expense since the chances of a disputed election would be ruled out.[29] A meeting was held on 18 June to form such a committee. This was to be open to all electors on payment of 1/- (5p) plus an equal share of the cost of returning an M.P. Any member could withdraw once he had paid his share. The committee was to be divided into sub-committees for each ward. These were then to call public meetings to ascertain the extent of each candidate's support; support would then be given to the two candidates enjoying the most support. The committee appointed consisted of Laurence Hill, John Douglas, David Prentice, James Turner, James Wallace, Alexander Hedderwick and Daniel McAulay the only operative among them.[30]

At this meeting David Prentice, editor of the Chronicle circulated what were to become his famous pledges. These included total free trade, a general reduction of taxation and of the army and navy, burgh reform,

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(26) For a list of requisitionists see ibid.
(27) Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men (Glas., 1886), Vol. I, p. 58.
(28) Clause 3, 'To influence, by every legal means, the elections of Members to the Commons' House of Parliament, so as to secure the return of able, intrepid, and upright Representatives of the People' Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 26 Nov. 1831.
(29) Scots Times, 2 June 1832.
(30) Saturday (Evening) Post, 23 June 1832.

triennial parliaments and the ballot.(31) There was nothing particularly revolutionary in these pledges or in the idea of pledges themselves. Some however, such as the ballot and total free trade were controversial thus hardening division among the press. Support came from the Saturday (Evening) Post which had been constantly advocating pledging(32) (partly because it would unite all classes), and hoped this example would be followed all over the country;(33) and, as might be expected the Chronicle, since Prentice was its editor.(34)

Just as predictably the Herald and Courier expressed disgust, the Herald maintaining political unions had now taken over.(35) Opposition also came from a worried Scots Times: of course it had always looked favourably on political unions, but after all, they were for emergency situations only. To clarify its position, it printed on 5 June what purported to be a reader's letter expressive of the feelings of the silent majority. This questioned the Political Union's right to take what the reader considered dictatorial action (the Herald similarly questioned this)(36) and raised the possibility that Political Union was in reality controlled by one or two powerful men.(37)

Divergence was to become still more pronounced when the Political Union went into action.(38) After a second rather abortive meeting for the election committee had been held on 25 June,(39) enough progress had been made by 12 July for the Political Union to suggest

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(31) See Appendix XXVI.
(32) e.g. Saturday (Evening) Post, 2, 9 June, etc. 1832.
(33) Ibid. 9 June 1832.
(34) Chronicle, 22, 29 June, 1832.
(35) Herald, 4 June 1832; ibid. quoted in Saturday (Evening) Post, 23 June 1832.
(36) Herald, 4 June 1832.
(37) Scots Times, 5 June 1832.
(38) Other groups were also active. The Glasgow North Quarter Political Union was founded on 6 July 1832 to secure the election of representatives who would oppose all unnecessary expenditure; monopolies; try to extend the franchise to £5 householders, or every householder and support triennial parliaments. Free Press, 18 July 1832.
(39) Scots Times, 26 June 1832.

that the candidates should appear before it, so that their attitudes to the pledges could be determined.(40) Electors were therefore advised to wait till all candidates came forward before promising support.(41)

On 16 July 1832 the Political Union stated its ideas and objects, emphasising its wish for class co-operation:

> . . . the Elective Franchise is a right held by the Electors, in trust for the people at large, and ought to be exercised for the general good, and in accordance with the deliberative opinion of the great body of the people . . .
>
> . . . the chief object of this Union being cordially to unite all ranks, in combined and sustained exertions, to secure to every member of society the blessings of Equal Law, Uniform Rights, and Good Government, we, members, of this Union, entitled, by the Reform Bill, to exercise the Elective Franchise, cordially assent to the propriety of consulting, and if possible going along with, the opinion and interests of the Unenfranchised Members;

and again warned against pledging support to any candidate rashly.(42)

Nevertheless despite the hostility of such as the Scots Times,(43) of all the candidates then in the field(44) only Ewing did not appear before the Political Union - a fact which endeared him to the Conservative press.(45) Oswald, Douglas and Crawfurd all appeared before the Political Union and gave satisfactory responses: 'Mr. Oswald demurred to a few of the points in the new Confession of Faith, but

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(40) Ibid. 17 July 1832.
(41) Craig also asserted that the Magistrates were doing everything in their power to secure Ewing's return. Saturday (Evening) Post, 14 July 1832.
(42) Ibid. 21 July 1832.
(43) e.g. Scots Times, 17, 21, 24 July 1832.
(44) Dixon had not yet declared himself a candidate. Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 21 July 1832; his later appearance some time in August at the Political Union seems to have passed off without comment. Scots Times, 7 Aug. 1832 mentions his expected visit.
(45) Ewing might have been still more unpopular with radicals had they been able to read his letters to the Home Office in December 1832 and January 1833 in which he asked, in his capacity as Lord Provost, for troops to remain in the city during the election. H.O. 102/41: 369; 102/42: 3.

Mr. Douglas and Mr. Crawfurd evinced fewer scruples and accordingly received absolution with acclamation'.(46) This earned Oswald the Courier's disgust.(47) Sandford and Dixon also made appearances before the Political Union. Sandford used the opportunity to make a lengthy speech rather than go over the pledges as he had promised. His conduct was discussed at a Political Union meeting on 2 August 1832,(48) and there can be no doubt that he had alienated some: 'He has, in fact, made the Political Union the Theatre of an Oratorical display, to forward his own purposes, while he treated the Members and their resolutions with the utmost contempt; and placed them in the awkward position of putting other candidates through an ordeal to which by agreeing to come forward he assented; but which, having obtained a hearing, he ridiculed and contemned.'(49)

Developments by this date then had already revealed divergences among reformers over the desirable qualities and policies required of a candidate, over the merits of the particular candidates presenting themselves and over the question of pledging. Some, represented by the Scots Times and the 'descendants' of the Reform Association preferred the most Whiggish of the candidates and denounced the notion that candidates should be so deeply pledged as to be virtually delegates. Others, represented by, for example, the Chronicle and the Political Union favoured candidates of a more advanced liberal outlook, who would promote a variety of further reforms if returned, and who should demonstrate their suitability by pledging themselves in advance to the support of a long list of such reforms.

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(46) Scots Times, 24 July 1832.
(47) Courier, 24 July 1832.
(48) Scots Times, 7 Aug. 1832.
(49) Saturday (Evening) Post, 28 July 1832; see also Chronicle, 27 July 1832; though cf. Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 28 July 1832 'Sir Daniel K. Sandford addressed the Political Union for upwards of two hours on Thursday evening, in the most satisfactory and eloquent manner.' A smear campaign was run against Sandford who was depicted as a pro slaver, who, when he realised that he had no hope of winning, would support Ewing. Scots Times, 28 July 1832; Chronicle, 25 July 1832.

So far however, the investigation has been confined mainly to the electors who comprised such a small part of the constituency and of the reform movement as a whole, and to the legal press. As in reform movement, the unenfranchised also had opinions, preferences and ideas about tactics. These can be seen in the Unstamped (the Political Examiner, the Radical Reformers' Gazette, the Quizzling Glass and Punch), and in the operatives' actions. They revealed a third level of approach embodying a very different view of the political system, the condition of the working classes and the candidates.

The political system was described in classic radical terms:

> . . . the whole system is one of robbery, imposture, fraud and oppression; engendering thousands of vices, and converting into a hell, what was admirably adapted for a paradise. Law is unjustice, government is robbery and oppression, religion is imposture and fraud, morality is passive submission to villainy and extorsion, and all social virtues are summed up in selfishness. Such a wretched state of society has originated in the irresponsible power of kings, and the usurpation of aristocracy. But such results are unavoidable, where the people are deprived of their political rights. Popular government is the only remedy.(50)

Consequently the Whigs were utterly useless:

> They [Whigs] are not the representatives who are required, at the present time, to grapple with that incorrigible ring-leader of the opposition, the Duke of Wellington, or to blow up that receptacle of usurpation and villainy, the House of Lords. No; their maxim is to go along with the tide of opinion, and follow passively the current of circumstances, changing sides with the strength of parties, and the offers of hire and preferment.(51)

Indeed the Whigs and Tories were seen as interchangeable - both united against the people.(52)

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(50) R.R.G., 17 Nov. 1832.
(51) Ibid. 8 Dec. 1832.
(52) Ibid. 17 Nov. 1832.

As far as the working classes were concerned, their condition was worsening, as the spread of poor houses showed, and would continue to do so:

> . . . unless the people, and particularly the working classes, resolve on some decisive measures, for the purpose of securing and protecting property in labour, which is the most sacred of all property; and putting a stop to the swindling system of commerce at present in use, by which one class are plundered by another without any alternative . . . private charity is unavailing . . . we must cease to pay a debt, that was illegally contracted; we must do away with Paper Money and restrict the swindling system of Banking; and finally remove every obstacle and restraint to the ample reward of labour.(53)

Specific measures were needed to ameliorate the working classes' condition: triennial parliaments, extension of the franchise, the ballot, aboliton of the Corn Laws, and of colonial slavery, disestablishment, and reform of taxation and the system of places and pensions.

Though these measures had much in common with middle-class radicalism, this did not mean that the working classes saw their interests as identical with those of the mercantile and middle classes: as the Radical Reformers' Gazette put it, 'The interests of the Working Classes is not identified with what are called the commercial interests of the country.'(54) Nor did they think that the middle classes subscribed to such views either, except when it suited them: 'In our own city, Glasgow, during the struggle for the Bill, our present candidates mouthed reform, taxation, and the condition of the working classes. But what is their conduct now? Why, forsooth they have discovered that the working classes are an uneducated mob, having neither sense to think, nor discretion to act.'(55)

Their idea therefore, of a candidate differed from the Stamped

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(53) Ibid. 24 Nov. 1832.
(54) Ibid. 22 Dec. 1832.
(55) Ibid. 24 Nov. 1832.

press. They wanted men 'best calculated to redress the wrongs, of this oppressed, plundered, and pauperized country'.(56) In accordance with this Douglas emerged as the favourite candidate: 'In our opinion that is just the very sort of man that Glasgow wants - a common man to sit in the People's House . . . . It is among the reasons why we object to Mr. Ewing and Mr. Oswald, that they have not mixed with the inferior classes, consequently do not know their wants, and consequently cannot sympathize with them'; whereas Douglas was accessible to both rich and poor and the only one with a political creed:(57) 'We are partial, notwithstanding, to Mr. Douglas, as being a Radical Reformer, and having pledged himself unconditionally to all the great measures, solicited by the working classes.'(58) Douglas himself set great store by his sympathies with the working classes, using them to score points off Crawfurd.(59)

As the other candidates, with the exception of Ewing, had also pledged themselves to the same pledges as Douglas, it is interesting to see what the Unstamped thought of them. Although James Ewing had promised 'above all, to alleviate the distresses, and to improve the comforts of the labouring classes of the community' he was universally detested. His Toryism was stressed:

> He is a Tory, a shipowner, a proprietor or mortgagee of slaves in the West Indies, was foreman of the jury that condemned Wilson, possesses a surprising stock of vanity and evinces the greatest contempt imaginable for the

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(56) Ibid.
(57) Political Examiner, 15 Sept. 1832.
(58) R.R.G., 1 Dec. 1832, though it did disagree with his views on paper money, ibid. 8 Dec. 1832.
(59) ' . . . my opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the various interests of the classes occupied in agriculture, mines, trade, and manufactures; and particularly of the feelings, habits, and disadvantages of the working classes and the poor, render superfluous for me such prospective professions as may become unknown candidates for the confidence of Glasgow, who may naturally enough seek to supply the lack of known devotion to the cause of the people - by the cheap currency of profuse promises for which there is no guarantee of retrospective credit.' Scots Times, 14 July 1832.

middle and poorer classes.(60) His interests are opposed directly to those of the people; and being the puppet of the Tory party alone, must participate in all their feelings, and support all their measures to obstruct the progress of improvement, and the cause of liberty . . . . We abominate the doctrine on which he acts, of an original intention that one half of our species should labour and toil for the support and pleasure of the other. There is no such law in nature. Men are all equal in their political and civic rights, and the weaver taken from his loom is as eligible to sit in the representative assembly of the people as James Ewing . . .

> Such a man is fit to represent slavery, and the interests of the sugar and rum merchants; but would make a dangerous representative for a manufacturing town.(61)

Similar criticism was made by Punch: '"How comes it, Mr. Barloch," said Dr. Ewing the other day, "that so few of the Faculty of Procurators will give me their votes?" "The answer is obvious," returned the wit, "the most of them are Notaries (no-Tories)."'(62)

Sandford was considered little better than Ewing. He was too much of a philosopher and his eloquence would be put to the wrong use - to obstruct needed reforms.(63) On his appearance before the Political Union, Punch commented under the heading of 'The Luxury of Tears', 'some passages of Sir Daniel's Oration to the Union were so pathetic, as to draw tears from the eyes of many. In reference to this, Mr. Barloch proposes that he should be called the Political Onion.'(64) Sandford generally received a bad press from the Unstamped,(65) and his notion that it was not incompatible to be both a university professor and an M.P. received special comment.(66)

Oswald likewise was seen as a Tory,(67) and an enemy to the measures

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(60) Note the middle and poorer classes are classed together.
(61) Political Examiner, 15 Sept. 1832.
(62) Punch, 4 Aug. 1832.
(63) Political Examiner, 15 Sept. 1832.
(64) Punch, 4 Aug. 1832.
(65) See e.g. the Quizzling Glass, 2, 16 May 1832.
(66) Punch, 28 July 1832 'Examples of Greek Logic, by a certain Professor.' 'No important business comes before Parliament, till Easter; all important business is over in my class at Easter: argal, - I can hold pluralities.'
(67) Political Examiner, 15 Sept. 1832.

needed, though the requisitionists of Oswald and Crawfurd had stated 'it was not the interests of the higher classes, but the interests of the people that were to be consulted'.(68)

The candidates most favoured by the Stamped press then, found no favour in the Unstamped. It would however, be wrong to think that there was unanimity among the Unstamped. The Radical Reformers' Gazette concentrated its invective on Ewing, Dixon and Sandford, whom it classed as Whigs: 'What difference would it make if James Ewing were returned in place of Mr. Dixon, or Sir Daniel Sandford? Not a whit of difference.'(69) Similarly, 'James Ewing is a rank Whig, as are Sandford and Dixon. These gentlemen are all equally hostile to the abolition of the Corn Laws, West India slavery, and Churches established by Law; to the Extension of the Franchise, Vote by Ballot, Pledges, and a multiplicity of other measures of Reform';(70) though by 22 December 1832 it had decided Dixon was a Tory. The Radical Reformers' Gazette favoured voting for Douglas and Crawfurd,(71) (in contrast to the Stamped press, where, when separation was made of the Clique nominees, it was Oswald who was favoured); while the Political Examiner favoured Douglas and Dixon,(72) and Punch lampooned them all.

Despite these differences, the point remains that the Unstamped did consider there were grievances specific to the working classes which had to be rectified by choosing the right man to further their interests. They insisted that it was no good dealing in vague generalities or abstractions about what affected one, affected all; and consequently an M.P. representing the middle classes would not do.(73)

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(68) Saturday (Evening) Post, 21 July 1832.
(69) R.R.G., 1 Dec. 1832.
(70) Ibid. 8 Dec. 1832.
(71) Ibid. 15 Dec. 1832.
(72) Political Examiner, 15 Sept. 1832.
(73) The Trades Advocate, (unfortunately not extant), an example of that rare category, the working-class Stamped, had also pointed out 'the inconsistency of the operatives and the unenfranchised taking an active share in promoting the views of a party which did not recognise their right to the elective privileges, or contemplate its future extension' quoted in Saturday (Evening) Post, 7 July 1832.

They had definite ideas and these ideas were to be translated into action.

The middle classes, though, for their part were not unaware of this, and indeed took steps to ascertain the feelings of the unenfranchised; that is, there were still attempts at co-operation. As early as 7 June 1832, W. Craig had suggested in a meeting of the Political Union that the operatives and unenfranchised should issue a declaration of their views and principles.

This 'Declaration of the Trades' duly appeared in less than a fortnight. It was a comprehensive document demonstrating that the operatives would brook no nonsense:

> . . . the Declarators . . . have hitherto, for the sake of peace, and respecting the property of their fellow citizens, refrained from urging their just claims to the elective franchise, premising, that as soon as public opinion is filtered from the gross prejudices, errors, and immorality, originating in past misrule and political inequity, they will obtain, and be enabled to apply more effectively, these long withheld rights and privileges . . .

Legitimate power lay in the people, and was to be used to secure 'the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number'. All class legislation and monopolies were abhorred; all public servants should be paid no more than the rate for the job; all useless places, sinecures and unmerited pensions should be abolished; the law should be simplified and there should be currency reform and free trade. Factory reform, to give time for education was specifically spelt out.(74) As some had suffered in the introduction of machinery, there should be legislation to ensure a more equal distribution of its benefits. The franchise should be extended 'to all who are subject to the law, and contribute

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(74) 'That in order to give the humblest opportunities to learn and understand the laws and duties under which they are held responsible for obedience, no persons ought to be employed at stated labour, or in public factories, below —— years of age, and none from that age and upwards to twenty one should be employed more than ten hours per day.' See below, Chap. VI p. 237.

to the resources of the state'; and the terms of Parliament should be abridged. Their ideas on poor relief were akin to what was later to become known as the 'less eligibility principle': there should be a national fund for a House of Refuge established in each parish or ward, and 'this institution be placed under such regulations as will hold out no encouragement or temptation to the idle, the profligate, or the improvident'. Finally there was the warning that any candidate ignoring these principles was not eligible to represent 'this great and important portion of the community; and we hereby solemnly protest against the return of such as our Representative'.(75)

This was an independent statement of views displaying maturity and a certain amount of class consciousness but still containing no revolutionary demands. Nor had relations between the classes deteriorated to such an extent that the worth of the document could not be appreciated (it had after all originated in response to a middle-class request):

> To the notice of this Constituency we would therefore strongly recommend the document and urge upon them the importance of conciliating, and carrying along with them in the exercise of their new functions, so intelligent, so orderly, so industrious, so well-organized and influential a body, as the Operative Trades of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. With the principles contained in this Declaration, we cordially concur, and we should think that the same feeling must pervade by far the majority of the electors.(76)

The Declaration nevertheless marked the departure of the working classes in pursuit of their own aims, in their own ways. In accordance with such a pursuit the operative cotton spinners of Glasgow and vicinity held a meeting on 30 July 1832 to consider 'the best means of supporting those candidates who will carry into effect the Time Bill and other liberal measures'. In working-class eyes support for a factory bill was

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(75) Declaration of Trades, Free Press, 20 June 1832.
(76) Free Press, 20 June 1832.

regarded as a test issue(77) for candidates and was one reason why Douglas won working-class support.(78) (When Oswald, Douglas and Crawfurd had appeared before the Political Union, McAulay had tried to elicit their support for the factory bill. Oswald was against the measure, Crawfurd felt that he did not know enought about it;(79) Douglas however favoured a restriction of children's hours and a trial period during which adults' hours should also be reduced.)(80) Electors were asked to ensure that candidates pledged themselves to a Time Bill.

Once again the operatives looked to their own actions to further their own interests: a circular was to be sent to all the trades so that a Trades Committee could be formed. Such action however by no means amounted to hostility to the idea of co-operation - the Committee of Trades were 'to do their utmost, in conjunction with the Political Union, to return Members of Parliament pledged to the cause of the people'.

Some nevertheless did hold that justice could only be secured via an M.P. who came from the operative classes: A. Campbell proposed a parliamentary association of the people, and recommended that the operatives paid a weekly sum to support an M.P. of their own class. In the meantime hints about exclusive dealing were made - since Glasgow electors depended for business almost entirely on operatives, they should study the operatives' interests and feelings, which they should make known to them. It was hoped that were the unenfranchised classes united, the electors would not presume to oppose their wishes.

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(77) The other test was extension of the franchise.
(78) See e.g. meeting of the committee of the Calton and Mile end Political Union, 17 July 1832, Saturday (Evening) Post, 21 July 1832.
(79) Scots Times, 24 July 1832.
(80) Saturday (Evening) Post, 21 July 1832.

The return of Ewing was strenuously opposed. Finally the meeting decided that votes should be given to those securing 'the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of the people'.(81) Therefore though willing to co-operate with the Political Union, the unenfranchised were also exploring separate channels to ensure their rights.

This departure from the complete tutelage of the middle classes and venture into separate action was seen by some as heralding the menacing prospect of mob rule and endangering the successful workings of the Reform Bill, ' . . . the Reform Bill cannot have a fair trial, nor its merits or demerits be made apparent so long as the electors and the candidates for representation are overawed by a body, the extent of whose power is but ill understood, and on whose interference no limits appear to be set.'(82) On 15 August 1832 the streets were placarded with an address 'To the Inhabitants of Glasgow' announcing a meeting of the delegates of the trades. Steps were to be taken to ascertain the names of those who though entitled to qualify for the vote had not done so; to 'punish' such people, lists of their names were to be displayed in all streets, lanes, factories and workshops in the city.

The respectable Reform press saw this as a direct attempt against an individual's freedom (since he had the right if he so wished, not to exercise his franchise) and strenuously denounced it:

> This dastardly attempt to introduce mob law has excited universal indignation in our city, and the prevailing feeling is, that these reckless demagogues who are thus threatening the electors with vengeance if they refrain from registering, will also resort to some means of intimidation to influence them in the choice of our Member. Citizens of Glasgow! is such conduct to be endured? Are we thus to surrender our dear-bought liberties, and become the truckling trembling observants of the will of

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(81) Ibid. 4 Aug. 1832.
(82) Scots Times, 18 Aug. 1832.

> a set of heartless, vain glorious, speechifying adventurers, who, proud of the little elevation which the unsettled state of the times has allowed them to reach, are endeavouring, by the most tyrannical means, to maintain an ascendancy in our political affairs which they never ought to have possessed . . . we would call upon every honest Reformer, who has a sincere regard for the independence of the people at heart, to withdraw his name without delay from societies that have so far forgot the objects for which they were formed.(83)

The Trades however proposed to go further than merely publishing the names of 'defaulting' electors, and in so doing widened still further the breach between themselves and the more moderate middle-class reformers. On 10 September 1832, the unenfranchised held a meeting in the Rev. Mr. Beatties' Meeting House. This favoured direct action on the grounds that there was a division among electors which would be inimical to reform and the best interests of the country. The meeting proposed therefore to find the two reformers with the greatest amount of support and induce their competitors to resign.

This 'inducement' was to take the form of 'moral influence': all business with undeclared electors was to be suspended until they had declared their voting intention. If this failed they were to be placarded 'for the guidance of the Non-electors'. A committee was to canvass all electors south of the Clyde, and it was hoped that the unenfranchised north of the Clyde would do the same.(84)

A member of the Political Union was said to be instrumental in attempting to break up this meeting(85) thereby once again emphasising the divergency in the reform ranks. James Taylor was about to second the second resolution when the managers of the church insisted they leave. Attempts were made to reason with the managers but to no avail, whereupon the meeting was adjourned to Hope St. Such a dismissal flabber-

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(83) Ibid.
(84) Ibid. 18 Sept. 1832.
(85) 'A deputation was sent out to reason the matter with the two managers (one of whom was said to be a Councillor of the Glasgow Political Union) but found them inexorable.'

gasted the participants as the comment of Abram Duncan demonstrated: 'He spoke of the expulsion they had just experienced; a grosser outrage than even the Church of Rome had ever been guilty of.'(86)

Such meetings and sentiments helped to crystallise the opinion of those like the Scots Times who had once supported reform, then had wavered over how far reform should go, and what the political climate should be after reform had been granted. Once the praisers of the operatives and their actions they now saw them as ignorant idiots 'men who substitute frothy declamation for argument, and whose vanity, ignorance, and imbecility, are alike conspicuous in all the attempts they make to intrude themselves upon the notice of the public . . . a great moral and intellectual blight has come over the counsels which used to direct the movements of the working classes of our community'.(87)

The Political Union's activities had harmed the cause of reform and these resolutions would do likewise since there was no division among electors: 'A few more such instances of ignorance, violence, and folly, and we fear the character for intelligence and orderly conduct which our mechanics had so justly obtained, will be lost to them for ever. What crude, undigested notions of freedom must the intolerant blockheads be possessed of, who could give utterance to such resolutions.'(88)

The onset of the 1832 election then had clearly fostered the emergence of differences within the reform movement in Glasgow. The activities of the Political Union had earned the displeasure of the more cautious reformers, and the activities of the unenfranchised had equally earned the displeasure of the Political Union. It would be wrong however to see opinion as having hardened finally into three exclusive and hostile schools of thought: the divergence was not

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(86) Trades Advocate quoted in Saturday (Evening) Post, 15 Sept. 1832.
(87) Scots Times, 18 Sept. 1832; see also Herald, 17 Sept. 1832.
(88) Scots Times, ibid.

seen as total or irreparable. There were still attempts at co-operation and at appreciating one another's viewpoints. Thus in the August of 1832 one reform organ, the Saturday (Evening) Post spoke out strongly and sympathetically for the unenfranchised: 'The Electors of Glasgow are evincing an indifference to their rights, and the rights of their unenfranchised brethern, disgraceful to themselves and the city to which they belong; and no movement is making in public to express the burning indignation of the excluded classes, at their dastardly, nay, treasonable supineness.' Indeed it went further than this. Since the Political Union was not giving the unenfranchised the lead that it should then, 'the unenfranchised ought now to be up and doing for themselves. The trades, who fought the battle of reform, should meet immediately, and call upon the Electors to do their duty . . . . They gained for the middle classes the exercise of their rights, and well may they charge them with ingratitude in now refusing to use their influence in returning men to Parliament who will advocate salutary measures for their comfort.'(89) Thus this respectable Stamped journal was advising the unenfranchised to take just that drastic action which they did take via the Trades Meeting in September. Divergence then, was by no means clear-cut.

Nor were all of the middle classes opposed to the ideas and wishes of the unenfranchised being taken into account. There were still attempts to bridge the gap and retain co-operation and solidarity. At the Reform Jubilee in September 1832 at which the landowner Maxwell was in the chair, and the university professor Sandford among those present, resolutions proposing that the electors consider the wishes of the unenfranchised and vote for no one not in favour of an extension of the suffrage were brought forward. Even the stronger resolution of Daniel McAulay was passed: 'He was in favour of the electors placing

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(89) Saturday (Evening) Post, 11 Aug. 1832. It hoped a meeting of the unenfranchised would take place the following week.

at least one of their votes at the disposal of the unenfranchised. If they did not, the unenfranchised knew how to bring them to the mark, as they had done when they showed themselves backward to register.'(90)

Furthermore there were still individuals bridging the gap between the classes. For example, James Turner took the chair at the general meeting of delegates from shops, districts and factories held on 10 December 1832 and maintained 'the period had now arrived when the people themselves should take such cognizance in their own affairs at the ensuing elections as became those who had hitherto struggled so nobly in the cause of political freedom'.(91)

Nor were the ideas of the unenfranchised to be condemned out of hand by the candidates. As the election drew nearer there was talk of a 'joint canvass' to ensure that the reform vote would not be split. At Crawfurd's 'First Lecture' on 22 November 1832 David Todd suggested a joint canvass should be conducted via a deputation from each of the candidates' committees accompanied by a few of the unenfranchised. The unenfranchised would stand by the two with a majority and ensure their successful election.(92) Crawfurd was willing to join in any plan adopted by a majority of Glaswegians.(93) Sandford was also in favour of a joint canvass.(94) Such a plan once again occasioned a hysterical outburst from the Scots Times which maintained Crawfurd had only assented to ensure his election.(95)

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(90) Ibid. 29 Sept. 1832.
(91) Free Press, 12 Dec. 1832.
(92) Their election was to be ensured via 'moral influence'.
(93) Scots Times, 27 Nov. 1832.
(94) Ibid. 20 Nov. 1832; Free Press, 5 Dec. 1832 alleged Oswald would not agree to a joint canvass because he would lose too many of Ewing's second votes.
(95) 'The representatives of Glasgow are not to be sent to Parliament by the suffrages of the electors, it seems, but by the will of the unenfranchised! and to this doctrine, subversive of everything approaching to freedom of choice, Mr. Crawfurd assents, and seems no way averse to accept the assistance of the "moral influence," or in other language, the bludgeons of the mob, in order to carry him "successfully through his election".' Scots Times, 27 Nov. 1832.

In point of fact however, had the unenfranchised had their way Crawfurd would still not have been elected. As has been stated[96] the Unstamped favoured Douglas and there is some indication that his popularity extended further than the columns of a few newspapers. An unofficial poll took place at the Barrowfield Printfield and Dyeworks, where the ten or twelve voters said they would be guided by their fellows as to how they should vote (showing how seriously they took their obligations). In a ballot the following results were obtained:[97]

TABLE VIII

Candidate	Votes Cast	Percentage
Douglas	145	41.00
Sandford	125	35.50
Dixon	53	15.00
Crawfurd	28	8.00
Oswald	3	0.85
Ewing	0	0.00
Total:	354	100.35*

* Discrepancy results from rounding up

The Free Press commented:

> We wonder what some of our would-be Liberals and Reformers will say to this; but let them say what they please, it is a fair expression of public opinion from a body of men, who are as well qualified, by their general intelligence and excellent conduct, to judge of the necessary qualifications of an M.P., as any body of ten pound householders in Glasgow of the same number; besides this, it ought to be mentioned, that seven-eighths of the persons who have expressed their sentiments, as above recorded are householders.

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(96) See above p. 106.
(97) Free Press, 8 Dec. 1832.

> This is a pretty significant indication of what would be the result of the ensuing election, had it pleased our Whig legislators to give us household suffrage, instead of the ten pound franchise.(98)

Certainly the result would have been other than it was, for a poll of the Political Union also favoured Sandford and Douglas:(99)

TABLE IX

Candidate	Votes Cast	Percentage
Sandford	908	45.50
Douglas	745	37.50
Dixon	142	7.15
Crawfurd	131	6.60
Oswald	52	2.60
Ewing	9	0.45
Total:	1987	99.80*

* Discrepancy results from rounding up

It will be noticed that the two candidates subsequently elected - Ewing and Oswald - featured at the bottom of both these polls. The fact that Ewing might be fortuitously elected had not escaped the Loyal Reformers' Gazette.(100) In the event however Ewing and Oswald were returned:(101)

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(98) Ibid.
(99) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 15 Dec. 1832.
(100) Taking the electorate as 7,000 it supposed a third to be Tories, accounting for 2333⅓ voters, leaving 4666⅔ Whig voters. It was thought unlikely that Ewing's supporters would use their other vote in case they ousted him. If the Whigs used both their votes that meant 9332 votes to be split among five candidates equalling approximately 1866 each, therefore Ewing was bound to be elected. Ibid. 8 Dec. 1832.
(101) T. Wilkie, The Representation of Scotland (Paisley, 1895), p. 140.

1832 ELECTION VOTING BY CLASS (TABLE XI)

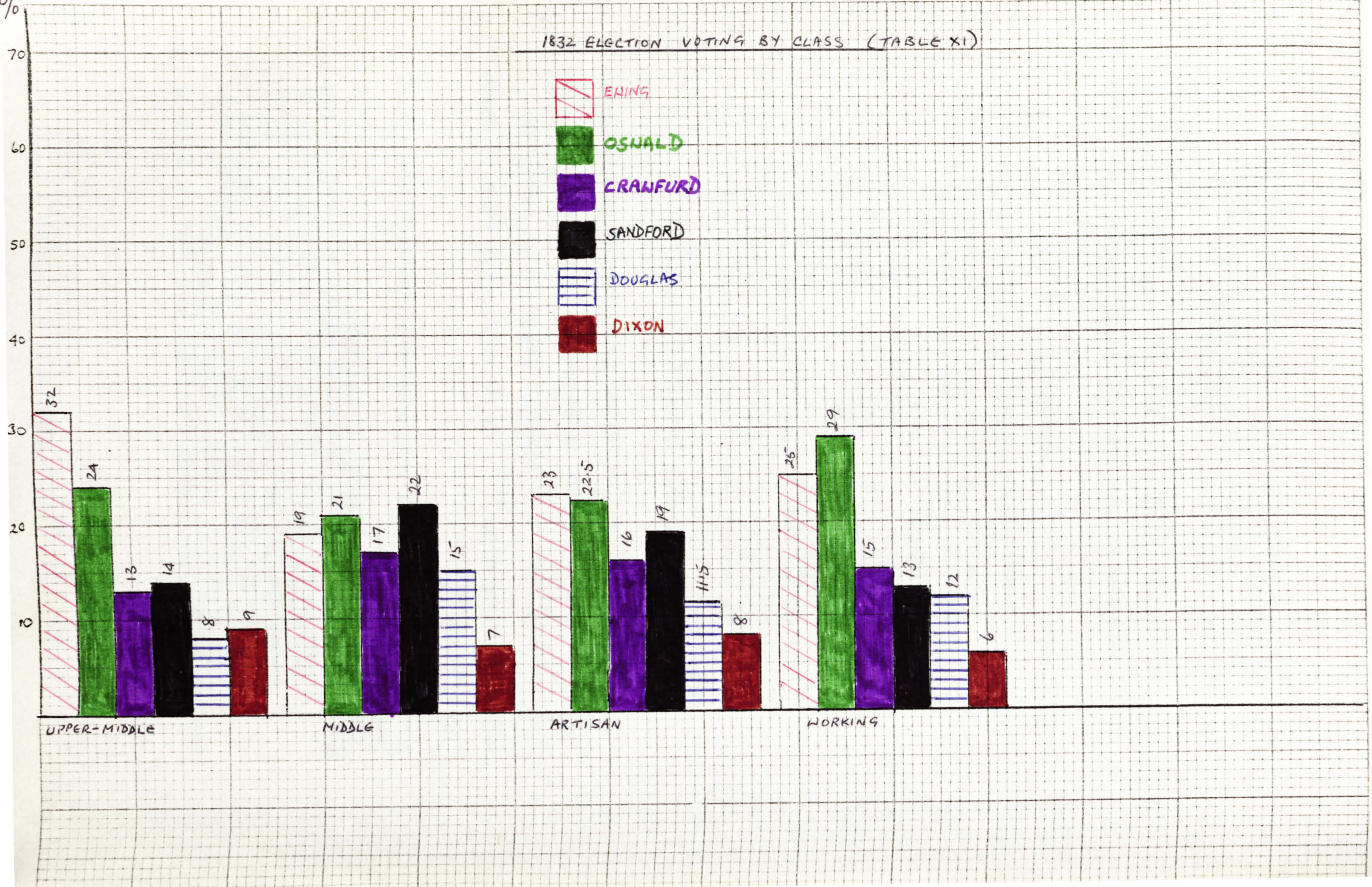

TABLE X

Candidate	Votes Cast	Percentage
Ewing	3,214	26.0
Oswald	2,838	23.0
Sandford	2,168	17.5
Crawfurd	1,850	15.0
Douglas	1,340	11.0
Dixon	995	8.0
Total:	12,405	100.5*

* Discrepancy results from rounding up

If the voting is analysed on a class basis (see Table XI) it will be seen that the middle-class vote deviated most from the constituency's performance as a whole. Only among the middle class did Ewing and Oswald together not win the highest percentage of the votes. The working class clearly did not favour the 'working-class' candidate, Douglas. None of the social classes favoured Sandford and Douglas who had topped the unofficial polls, though the middle class came closest to this giving them 37 per cent of their vote. There was therefore no sharp class differentiation of opinion among those who had the vote.

TABLE XI**

1832 election, voting by class(Source, 1832 Poll book)

Class	Ewing	Oswald	Crawfurd	Sandford	Douglas	Dixon
Upper-Middle	32%	24%	13%	14%	8%	9%
Middle	19%	21%	17%	22%	15%	7%
Artisan	23%	22.5%	16%	19%	11.5%	8%
Working	25%	29%	15%	13%	12%	6%

** See also diagram on facing page.

Analysing by individual wards[102] (see Table XII) Ewing won 37 per cent of the vote in Ward 7 which had the highest percentage of upper-middle class voters (the 'class' character of each ward is given in Tables XIII and XIV); 34 per cent in Ward 9 which had the third highest percentage of upper-middle class voters; and 30 per cent in Ward 5 which had the second highest percentage of upper-middle class voters. Oswald was similarly popular with the upper-middle classes being most successful in Ward 7, but unlike Ewing he was equally successful in Wards 6 and 9 (and in Ward 6 only 37 per cent were upper-middle class voters). Crawfurd was most successful

TABLE XII

1832 election Voting by Wards (in %)

Ward	Ewing	Oswald	Crawfurd	Sandford	Douglas	Dixon
1	19	23	20	26	19	5
2	23	19	14	22.5	11	10
3	24.5	20	15	20	13	8
4	25	19	12	21	12	11
5	30	25	11	16	9	8
6	23	26	15	13	14	9
7	37	28	14	8	2	10
8	23	24	21	16	8	7
9	34	26	14	11	6	9
10	27	24	15	19	8	8
11	25	19	16	19	17	4
12	18	23	15	21	20	4

in Ward 8, a ward where the artisans and middle classes taken together dominated the electorate, though Oswald again won the largest share of Ward 8's vote. Sandford was most successful in Ward 1 which had the largest artisan vote; and Douglas in Ward 12 which had the second largest artisan vote. Dixon's highest percentage was secured in

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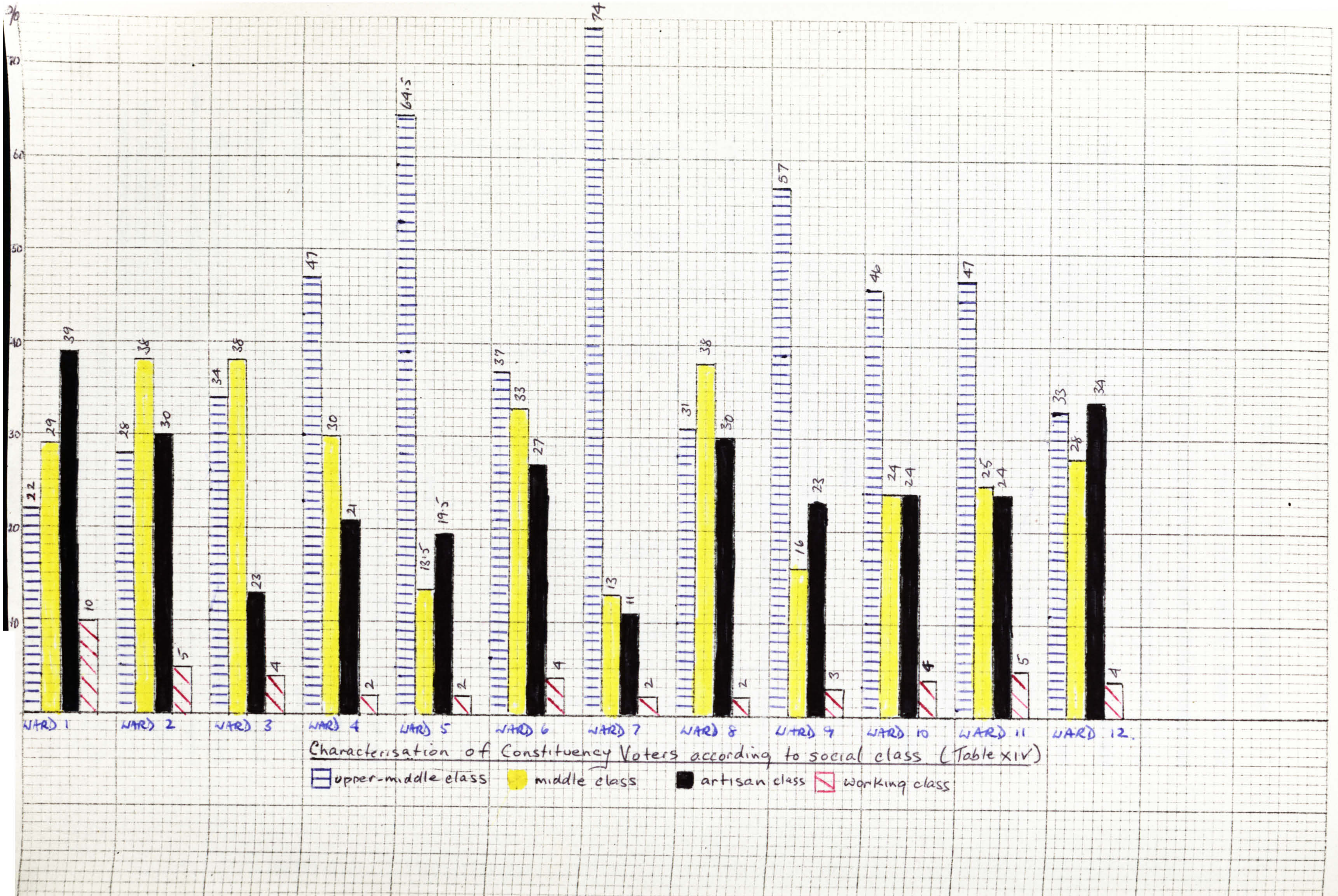
(102) All these figures are to some extent impressionistic, since those whose occupations were not given were not used in the analysis of voting by class, and it is this data which was used for voting for individual wards.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WARD 1
WARD 2
WARD 3
WARD 4
WARD 5
WARD 6
WARD 7
WARD 8
WARD 9
WARD 10
WARD 11
WARD 12.
Characterisation of Constituency Voters according to social class (Table XIV)
upper-middle class
middle class
artisan class
working class

Ward 4, a ward not characterised by any one class of the community. All in all, place of residence does not appear to have played a disproportionate role in determining voting behaviour.

TABLE XIII

Characterisation of Constituency Voters according to social class

Constituency Voters	Upper-Middle	Middle	Artisan	Working
5724	2467	1569	1455	233
Ward 1	107	140	190	46
2	144	195	155	25
3	167	188	115	22
4	247	159	108	13
5	337	71	102	13
6	179	159	129	17
7	308	54	48	9
8	162	199	156	9
9	288	82	116	14
10	214	114	112	29
11	197	106	102	20
12	117	102	122	16

TABLE XIV*

the same data presented as a percentage

Ward	Upper-Middle	Middle	Artisan	Working
1	22	29	39	10
2	28	38	30	5
3	34	38	23	4
4	47	30	21	2
5	64.5	13.5	19.5	2
6	37	33	27	4
7	74	13	11	2
8	31	38	30	2
9	57	16	23	3
10	46	24	24	4
11	47	25	24	5
12	33	28	34	4

* See also diagram on facing page

A more revealing pattern emerges however from an examination of class behaviour in particular wards. Table XV reveals that among upper-middle class electors, Ewing and Oswald together captured the largest share of the vote in every ward except 1 and 2.

TABLE XV

1832 election, votes cast according to Ward and Class (in %):
upper-middle

Ward	Ewing	Oswald	Crawfurd	Sandford	Douglas	Dixon
1	22.2	16.9	17.4	23.7	14.5	5.3
2	30.5	18.8	9.4	20.3	10.2	10.9
3	30.4	20.2	14.3	16.1	11.8	7.1
4	31.6	23.7	9.4	15.4	10.4	9.6
5	30.6	25.5	12.7	13.5	8.1	9.6
6	25.1	28.0	11.0	12.1	14.7	9.0
7	38.7	28.2	13.6	7.1	1.4	11.0
8	28.3	25.0	15.3	16.7	8.0	6.7
9	39.3	25.6	11.6	9.6	3.7	10.2
10	35.1	19.1	12.0	18.6	7.1	8.1
11	31.7	25.7	15.0	16.9	9.4	5.6
12	23.3	27.8	17.2	13.2	11.5	7.0

Table XVI reveals a very different picture. Only in three wards, 6, 7 and 9, did Ewing and Oswald together win the largest share of the votes. Sandford came first in five wards and second in three wards; Ewing, first in two wards and second in four wards; Oswald, first in four wards and second in three wards; Douglas, first in two wards, while Crawfurd and Dixon did not come first in any ward. The middle-class vote therefore did not concentrate on one particular pairing but spread across the board.

TABLE XVI

1832 election, votes cast according to Ward and Class (in %):
middle

Ward	Ewing	Oswald	Crawfurd	Sandford	Douglas	Dixon
1	13.3	20.7	16.7	25.6	18.1	5.6
2	18.4	16.7	18.4	25.5	12.1	9.0
3	18.6	19.5	17.0	22.2	15.3	7.4
4	16.8	13.8	14.5	28.6	13.8	12.5
5	25.2	22.9	8.4	24.4	16.0	3.1
6	19.5	22.1	16.6	16.9	14.2	10.7
7	34.0	26.2	16.5	11.7	2.9	8.7
8	19.9	27.0	22.8	15.7	8.4	6.3
9	23.8	26.9	14.4	15.6	13.1	6.3
10	18.1	25.8	19.0	24.0	7.7	5.4
11	16.5	14.4	14.4	24.2	26.7	3.6
12	11.7	14.8	10.8	26.9	32.7	3.1

Among the artisans(103) Sandford was again popular coming first in three wards and second in three wards (see Table XVII). But Douglas, however popular with members of the Political Union or working men, could do no better than third place in artisan favour in one ward; while in most he lagged in fifth place.

TABLE XVII

1832 election, votes cast according to Ward and Class (in %):
artisan

Ward	Ewing	Oswald	Crawfurd	Sandford	Douglas	Dixon
1	14.6	19.2	19.2	25.0	17.9	4.1
2	21.6	21.3	13.7	22.3	11.3	9.6
3	24.1	19.4	13.0	21.8	12.0	9.7
4	24.6	14.5	12.6	25.1	12.1	11.1
5	31.1	24.4	10.4	17.1	9.8	7.3
6	26.3	27.1	16.7	11.6	10.0	8.4
7	30.2	31.2	12.1	7.0	4.0	7.0
8	20.6	20.6	24.4	16.0	8.7	9.8
9	30.3	29.9	17.6	9.5	4.5	8.1
10	23.1	26.4	15.3	16.7	9.3	9.3
11	22.3	18.1	17.1	20.2	19.7	2.6
12	16.8	23.7	16.8	22.8	16.4	3.4

(103) Burn, op.cit. p. 127 noted that Sandford had made a favourable impression on the working classes during the reform agitation, and particularly among his trade, the hatters.

The working-class pattern of voting had most in common with the upper-middle class, though of course the sample is extremely small. (Table XVIII)

TABLE XVIII

1832 election, votes cast according to Ward and Class (in %): working

Ward	Ewing	Oswald	Crawfurd	Sandford	Douglas	Dixon
1	22.7	29.5	18.2	10.2	15.9	3.4
2	20.0	24.0	12.0	16.0	12.0	16.0
3	30.2	32.6	7.0	20.9	4.7	4.7
4	26.9	19.2	15.4	19.2	7.7	11.5
5	36.0	40.0	4.0	12.0	8.0	0.0
6	17.6	26.5	14.7	8.8	23.5	8.8
7	37.5	12.5	6.3	25.0	6.3	12.5
8	26.7	20.0	20.0	20.0	6.7	6.7
9	26.9	26.9	26.9	7.7	7.7	3.8
10	25.9	36.2	12.1	10.3	6.9	8.6
11	17.5	32.5	17.5	7.5	25.0	0.0
12	23.3	33.3	23.3	10.0	6.7	3.3

At the end of the day then, the unenfranchised had failed to influence the result in the way they had wished and 'Messrs. Ewing and Oswald, the most conservative of all the candidates, were consequently returned for one of the most generally liberal of all our Scottish constituencies.'(104)

The Stamped press, with the exception of the Chronicle, which had its doubts pointing out that Glasgow had reproduced the same result as elsewhere - the return of the two wealthiest and influential members(105) - all claimed the result as a victory for their particular views.(106) The Herald was pleased with 'two excellent Members'.(107) The Scots Times was delighted: 'Glasgow, as we predicted, has nobly realized our best hopes, and by the return of two solid well-tried

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(104) Chambers' Hist. Newspaper, 3 Jan. 1833.
(105) 'This is the result which was generally expected. We hope it will turn to be beneficial to the city and country at large.' Chronicle, 19 Dec. 1832.
(106) e.g. Scottish Guardian, 21 Dec. 1832.
(107) Herald, 21 Dec. 1832.

consistent liberals, fully justifies every anticipation that was formed of the efficient character of the new system'.(108) It also commented on the Courier's delight(109) with the result, though it failed to point out that two days previously the Courier had hoped for the return of Ewing and Dixon:(110) 'The Courier's statements would lead the public to believe that two ultra-Tories have been returned by Tory influence for Glasgow. Both Members repel the imputation indignantly. Provost Ewing was returned by a joint effort of the moderates of both parties. Mr. Oswald by the Whig interest alone.'(111)

In accordance with its essentially Whig analysis of the situation the Scots Times claimed Glasgow had been saved by the middle class - the class that always defended Glasgow, the class which had saved the Cathedral 'from the rage of fanaticism in the hottest period of the Reformation':

> The Lord-Provost, as we predicted, stands triumphantly at the head of the Poll - placed there not by the efforts of a faction, not by cajolling or intrigue - nor by illegitimate means of any kind; but by the firm, united voice of the right-thinking, sound, wholesome, constituency - the moderate men of all parties, and of all ranks; but chiefly by the plain, downright burghers of the city, - these fearless, honest men of the middle class, who wisely took a business view of what was, in fact, a business matter, and decided it in a business way.(112)

All that was left were the recriminations about who would have come first had the situation been different.

Glasgow by 1832 then, had exhibited yet another pattern of reform agitation different in some ways from that of Leeds, Manchester or Birmingham. It had mobilised all the usual means of agitation; the B.P.U. had corresponded with Wallace, the chairman of the Glasgow

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(108) Scots Times, 22 Dec. 1832.
(109) Courier, 20 Dec. 1832.
(110) Ibid. 18 Dec. 1832.
(111) Scots Times, 22 Dec. 1832.
(112) Ibid.

Political Union.(113) There was, as in Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds, continuity of agitators (e.g. Turner) but of course no continuity of extremism. Glasgow, like Manchester was a city of large scale factories, and the Glasgow operatives were also sceptical of reform unless social readjustment would ensue, but the Glasgow hand-loom weavers were not revolutionary. Nor did a split occur between middle-class political and working-class factory reformers as had happened in Leeds. There was no bitter election contest between the candidates (as in Manchester and Leeds) and only one reference to the idea of an M.P. coming from the operative classes. Currency was not an issue in Glasgow, nor was there any overriding issue of that nature, but as the middle classes did not stress their interests at the expense of the working classes, and the trades union was equally concerned about commercial problems,(114) this was not needed. The election had given rise to a clearer definition of standpoints, but no irreparable breaches had taken place.

Indeed the very candidates themselves were an indication of the moderation of the constituency. While Ewing might be classed relatively as the most 'conservative' and Douglas as the most 'popular' they did not cover any large spectrum. There was no authentic Conservative candidate, let alone any 'Tory'; and no extreme democratic candidates at the other end. The Unstamped had not advocated outrageous demands, they were mostly the type of demand to be expected from a commercial community e.g. abolition of the Corn Laws. Nevertheless the working classes had shown they had conscious aims of their own. They too might feel least contented with the result: the

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(113) Cowan, op.cit. p. 83.

(114) 'That this Union keep a vigilant eye on the election of M.Ps., and their movements, with a view to the abolition of those laws that give an undue influence and unfair protection to the agricultural over the commercial classes, by keeping up the price of provisions above what the fair profits of commerce can afford.' Rules and Regulations, supplement to H.T.A.

victors Ewing and Oswald had figured as the most unpopular in their expressions of opinion. These Glasgow M.Ps. were not likely to forward the causes favoured by the unenfranchised. Already there were signs of demands for further improvements such as the ballot from this quarter, since 'The Bill has now got a trial, and the result is complete failure'.(115) It now remained to see what would happen now that a Reform Parliament was in being at Westminster

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(115) R.R.G., 29 Dec. 1832.

CHAPTER IV

A TIME OF DISILLUSION?

I

> Whatever may be their [the government's] views of the Reform Act as a final measure, the view entertained by the country is quite different. By the people at large the present act was never looked to as anything else than a means to obtain more; and it is they, and not the Ministers of the day who have now the power as well as the right to judge of what alterations are necessary. There can be no doubt that important changes will be instantly expected, and Earl Grey's administration will become more unpopular than ever the Duke of Wellington's was, if these expectations be disappointed . . . . There is, . . . a very general desire among the electors for a further extension of the suffrage and for vote by ballot; and the late elections have, in too many instances, proved the necessity of both. In a word, the thing has been carried too far to stop short with the present imperfect scheme . . . the country now possesses the power of carrying the practical reform, and there can be no doubt but it will be demanded.(1)

There can be no doubt that the Glasgow Reform press(2) saw the Reform Bill as a means to an end; and since a Reform Parliament was in being at Westminster, reformers expected with some justification that their basic grievances were about to be remedied. Their expectations however were not always fulfilled. Thus the period 1833-7 was to see many manifestations of radical agitation; in this Glasgow was to be no different from any of the other centres of reform. Indeed a feature of Glasgow political life at this time was its constant agitation: in response to government action (or inaction) as over Ireland and municipal corporation reform; in response to visits from national figures such as Durham, O'Connell, O'Connor and Peel; on behalf of radical causes such as the extension of the franchise, and repeal of the Stamp Acts. Moreover the period was marked by an unprecedented number of parliamentary elections - four - so that electioneering was almost constant.

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(1) Saturday (Evening) Post, 29 Dec. 1832.
(2) e. g. Chronicle, 20 June 1832.

Throughout all this activity, certain features and trends were to become more apparent: with the hardening of attitudes came the evolution of a more distinct radical consciousness, and a consequent split among that amorphous group, 'the reformers', who had united to pass the Reform Bill. For, just as the Reform press had different ideas about the measures to be secured as a result of the Reform Bill,(3) so too, under the pressure of events were Glasgow radicals to display different preferences. Though it would be erroneous to imagine reformers split into clear-cut sections with no overlap, nevertheless it is possible, though not in every instance, to distinguish three different strands of opinion. For convenience these may be classified as: Whigs, unwilling to press the government lest the Tories come to power; Liberals seeing the necessity for further reform to avert some worse prospect; Radicals out for further reform for its own sake. These strands were to be reflected in the political organisations of the time and the parliamentary elections.

II

Ireland was to be the first testing point of the Whig government. Ireland's problems were not merely those of economic backwardness; they were also religious. In practice this meant increasing agrarian unrest, crime and disorders; and frequent collisions, often bloody, between the authorities and the recalcitrant peasantry. The problem, as far as the government was concerned, was that of keeping law and order in Ireland. The solution was seen to lie in two simultaneous measures: a coercion bill, and a bill to promote some reforms in the structure and finances of the Irish Church.

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(3) e.g. Saturday (Evening) Post, now called, and hereinafter cited as Glasgow Evening Post, 5 Jan. 1833 thought two of the first measures should be the abolition of the tax on soap, and a great reduction in, if not the abolition of, the Stamp Acts; while the Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 12 Jan. 1833 looked for a cheapening of government and a lessening of public burdens.

Remedy of Irish grievances was a popular radical cause. But the government's proposals pleased neither Glasgow Conservatives, predictably seeing them as heralding nothing but doom,(4) nor Glasgow radicals to whom the Coercion bill seemed unbelievably harsh: 'It would scarcely be believed that a measure so full of mischief and tyranny could be brought forward by any British ministry pretending to liberality and a love of freedom.'(5)

Accordingly recourse was taken to the by now 'traditional' means of informing government and drawing attention to grievances: continuous press comment, public meetings and petitions.(6) Three meetings were held on 28 February, 9 and 19 March 1833, at which not only was the topic of Ireland discussed, but the entire deeds of the Whig administration were reviewed with sadness and incredulity. Resolutions condemnatory of the situation were passed expressing extreme disappointment at the first Reform House postponing all remedial and conciliatory measures for Ireland; the Coercion bill was tyrannous, corrupt and unnecessary; the troubles were caused by tithes which ought to be abolished, and exacerbated by government conduct; furthermore it was not just an Irish question, it was also an imperial one.(7)

At all these meetings, the participants saw their function as didactic: 'Their sole motive was to prevent the Ministry from sowing, by means of this cruel measure, the seeds of indefinite future agitation - and to explain to them the way to recover the false step they have made, and thus restore them once more, to the affections and hearts of the people.'(8)

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(4) e.g. Herald, 15 Feb. 1833.
(5) Sandford at the meeting on 28 Feb. 1833, Argus, 1 Mar. 1833.
(6) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XVI, 11 Mar. 1833, col. 466; ibid. 20 Mar. 1833, col. 876.
(7) See the meetings, Argus, 1, 11, 21 Mar. 1833.
(8) Sandford at the meeting on 19 Mar. 1833, ibid. 21 Mar. 1833.

There appeared to be a genuine reluctance to 'plunge prematurely into the vortex of agitation'.(9) Nevertheless the first open admissions that support of the Ministry was conditional were appearing.(10) They increased with the passing of the Coercion bill. There were warnings that the government must fall if it continued this way.(11) There were sharp comments on the state of political parties, especially on the absence of any real radical party. There were calls for the repeal of the Septennial act and for the introduction of the ballot.(12)

On the surface then, agitation over Ireland had followed the familiar course: continuous press comment, meetings where class co-operation was evident and petitions. The Political Union had also condemned the proceedings and corresponded with Newcastle and Birmingham over this issue.(13) Yet a closer examination reveals the beginnings of a splitting of reformers into the three strands, Whigs, Liberals and Radicals. It was noted that the meeting of 9 March 1833 had been marked by a far smaller attendance of 'gentlemen' than had been expected.(14) The London Globe eagerly proclaimed that the majority of the 'independent and intelligent' inhabitants of Glasgow realised the necessity of the Coercion bill. The Argus protested that many had held back because, though they disapproved of the measure, their general confidence in the Ministers remained

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(9) Argus, 25 Feb. 1833; similar comment ibid. 4 Mar. 1833.
(10) 'It is no great compliment to Ministers the support we are at present lending them. We honestly confess that we adhere to them for want of better.' Ibid. 25 Feb. 1833.
(11) e.g. Courier, 16 April 1833; Glasgow Evening Post, 13 April 1833. Only the Scots Times, 13 April 1833 suggested the Ministry should be given a fair chance.
(12) 'There is no Radical party. There are Radicals in plenty - rational and irrational, learned and illiterate, upon principle and from passion, honest and dishonest: still there is no Radical party. The truth is, that no party can exist without a leader; and there is not at present, within the compass of Britain, any statesman of sufficient depth and intensity of character to fill that office . . .' Argus, 15 April 1833.
(13) Glasgow Evening Post, 2 Mar. 1833.
(14) Argus, 11 Mar. 1833.

unshaken, and they did not wish to place themselves in what might seem to be an attitude of hostility to the government.(15) This was a classic defence of the Whig position, a position which was to be further attacked once the Coercion bill had become law.

For though the 'respectable' may have been alarmed by the 'rashness' of the agitation over Ireland, extreme radicals had nothing but contempt for the entire proceedings as comment in the Unstamped demonstrated. 'We are not to petition - not to pray humbly for this, and slavishly for that! There is a time when Government is to be respected, but there is a time, also, when it must lie under the scorn and vengeance of an injured and oppressed people. WE MUST REMONSTRATE! - WE MUST RESIST!' The futility of petitioning was underlined: they had petitioned for Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill, and now for Ireland.

> We have petitioned till we are wearied, and our petitions have produced no good . . . . It was the determination to have recourse to the last argument which the constitution provides - that forced successive administrations to comply with the demands of the people . . . . Let, therefore, instead of petitions, remonstrances be sent from all parts of the country to the House of Representatives . . . . They are slaves who petition for justice, - the granting of it can be no favour, - it is what every man is entitled to, and what it becomes him indignantly to demand . . .(16)

The time was fast approaching when the people would have a government according to their wishes. The actions of the Reform Ministry were merely hastening this time, for the work of reform had only begun.(17)

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(15) Ibid. 28 Mar. 1833.
(16) Agitator, 9 Mar. 1833.
(17) ' . . . They have introduced military flogging in Ireland. They have resolved on the continuance of flogging in the army and navy - on the continuance of every extravagance under which the nation has so long groaned, and against which it has so long murmured - they have delayed going into the merits of the factory bill - in one word, they have done everything against, and nothing for, the people . . . . What are the Unions about - the great agitators and leaders of the country in our late struggles? - are they all down? Surely not! The work of Reform has only commenced: let us agitate - let us pave the way for its ultimate triumph.' Ibid. 13 April 1833.

In line with such attitudes, attempts at self-help were again evident. On 5 April 1833 an Owenite 'Social Festival of the Industrious Classes' was held. At this lots were drawn for books on social and political economy. Alexander Campbell explained the advantages of the labour exchange system, and proposed a Scottish National Association of United Trades. This would provide the unemployed of various trades with raw materials to manufacture goods which would then be exchanged via labour notes. The capital was to be used to purchase land, build houses and workshops, install machinery, thus ensuring the betterment of all.(18) That is, it was a similar, though more ambitious, scheme to those which had been constantly advocated by the Herald to the Trades Advocate.(19)

Recourse to self-help was also to be suggested a little later in the disillusion following the failure of the Ten Hours movement.(20) Abram Duncan called for the working classes to unite: 'The resolution he had to propose pointed out that Government had betrayed the working classes; that they had waited patiently on the Reformed House, in the hopes of seeing it yield something for the benefit of the poor man; but it had resolutely refused all concessions, and they now again appeared before the public, in the face of the Legislature, to tell them that they were determined to legislate for themselves.'(21)

It is possible then to discern as early as 1833 the emergence of different shades of opinion among Glasgow reformers. The most vehement in their disillusion and readiness to take stronger steps to demonstrate this. The more respectable hung back. Yet it would be wrong to suggest there was any complete break or that co-operation between middle and working-class radicals was necessarily precluded.

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(18) Glasgow Evening Post, 6 April 1833.
(19) See above, Chap. I, II.
(20) See below, Chap. VI.
(21) Argus, 5 Aug. 1833.

The workingmen's disillusion was with the performance of the legislature rather than with the middle classes. And many of the latter were hardly less disappointed with the Whig government's conduct. Demands at a dinner given to James Oswald M.P. on 24 September 1833 showed the state of mind of 'the largest and most valuable portion of our mercantile community'.(22) These included triennial parliaments; the extinction of the political power of the Church; law reform; the liberty of the press; the progress of education; the repeal of the law of entail; the abolition of primogeniture; free trade in corn and the abolition of all commercial restrictions; the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions; the speedy eradication of all municipal abuses and support for the ballot.(23)

Similarly, participants at the Thrushgrove Anniversary Dinner of 29 October 1833 called for, among other measures, the ballot, triennial parliaments, the abolition of the Corn Laws, and 'a speedy reform of the reformed parliament'.(24)

Eighteen thirty-three then, had seen growing disillusion among Glasgow reformers with the Reform Ministry. As at Westminster, where the Whigs were finding difficulty in conciliating their supporters, so too was opinion in Glasgow hardening. The promised utopia envisaged as consequent on the passing of the Reform Bill(25) had not

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(22) Ibid. 26 Sept. 1833. The Argus maintained it referred to the wealth of many of the participants because 'we would show the falsehood of the assertion, that the principles of decided reformers are avowed only by men who have nothing to lose, and are therefore liable to suspicion . . .'

(23) The ballot was not among the toasts 'but the rapturous cheers with which its incidental mention by one of the speakers was caught up, showed how the hearts of the majority were affected . . .' Ibid.

(24) Glasgow Evening Post, 2 Nov. 1833.

(25) ''Tis twelve months past, just yesterday, since earth and sky and sea
And rock and glen and horse and men rang loud the jubilee;
The beacons blazed, the cannons fired, and roared each plain and hill
With the Bill - the glorious Bill and nothing but the Bill!
But now each holds his hands up in horror and disgust
At this same document - once termed the people's trust
That at the last was to bring grist to all the nation's mill.
Oh, curse the Bill, ye rogues, the Bill, and nothing but the Bill!'
Written by a Glasgow working man and quoted in Cole and Postgate, op.cit. p. 261.

materialised. Within such disillusion, a notable feature was the growing self-importance of the Trades.(26) Eighteen thirty-four was to see an increase in general dissatisfaction with the government.

Once again government action was to canalise working-class discontent. This time it was over the government's decision to uphold a sentence of seven years transportation passed in March 1834 on six labourers from Tolpuddle in Dorset, because they had administered illegal oaths to their fellow union members. Such repressive action was a bitter blow to the working classes.

On 16 April 1834 Glasgow operatives held a meeting. This regretted that Melbourne had paid no heed to Glasgow's petition of 30,000 signatures against the sentence. Todd maintained that the time would soon come when working men would have more power over those in authority.(27) A series of resolutions was passed. It was decided that there should be a consolidated union of Scottish operatives. Representatives were to be elected by ballot, the qualification fee for electors being 1d. (½p). A. Campbell proposed that this union should be regarded as a Scottish Parliament of Workmen. Indignation was expressed at the 'hireling press' for its misrepresentation of the acts and objects of the working classes. In consequence they would have nothing to do with it, but would support their own press.

Recourse to self-help was again voiced:

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(26) 'The Trades no longer wish to cringe, and bow, and blasphemously be-beastify themselves, by prostrations, and imploring their fellow-men to bestow what they have a right to demand. They wish, by a more decisive course, to work out, on their own resources, their political, and, I may add, their religious salvation . . .' J. Tait debating with Sandford in the columns of the Liberator that the objectives of unions were good. Courier, 18 Jan. 1834.

(27) Ibid. 22 April 1834.

> That since the Legislature and his Majesty's Government have hitherto shown a total disregard to the welfare of the working classes, and a deaf ear to their petitions, this meeting is of opinion, that no amelioration of their condition can be expected from such a source, and therefore unanimously resolve, in conjunction with their fellow operatives of England and Ireland, to take the entire management of their affairs into their own hands.

Nevertheless, a call was also made for a union of all classes to redress all grievances.(28)

The great radical 'occasion' of 1834 in Glasgow, however, the Durham Festival, testified to the continuance of co-operation among Glasgow radicals. The Festival took place on 29 October 1834, and 200,000 people were reputed to have attended. It furnished an opportunity for further demonstrations of working-class rhetoric:

> . . . they [the working classes] ought no longer to remain content with a mere nominal recognition of their influence as the people, without being made sharers of the substance of the constitution, by being admitted to a share of the franchise . . . . It was the feeling that they had been instrumental in raising up every class in the land but their own, that made them now look so pryingly into the workings of the political machine; and the meeting might rest satisfied that matters in the country would never work aright till some influence was given them in the guidance of that machine.(29)

There were signs of divergency and separate action, as in the arrangements for the dinner. Some newspaper reports gave the impression that the working classes had broken completely with the middle classes.(30) But these press comments were usually more extreme than the actual utterances of the agitators warranted, and it is the continuing co-operation which is the most impressive feature of the episode.

At both the demonstration and the subsequent dinner, class co-operation was advocated and acted on by both the middle and working classes. An operative, H. G. Graham was in the chair, quite prepared

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(28) Argus, 21 April 1834.
(29) Abram Duncan, 29 Oct. 1834, ibid. 30 Oct. 1834.
(30) e.g. Glasgow Evening Post, 4 Oct. 1834.

to co-operate with Durham; while at the dinner Colin Dunlop (later to be M.P.), a member of the middle classes pointed out the efficacy of co-operation.(31)

For though the working classes were now demanding their rights, using strong language on the necessity of extending the franchise and the futility of petitioning, and were calling for a renewal of the fight: '. . . since they had fought for the middle classes, would they not fight with double energy and with greater consistency for themselves? . . .'(32) they did not rule out co-operation with the middle classes. Even the most radical (Abram Duncan who had advocated the working classes' determination to legislate for themselves,(33) and who was to become a fervent Chartist) still maintained that there was a portion of the middle classes ready and willing to aid the working classes once they had taken the initial step of helping themselves.(34)

Even when emphasising their dignity, worth and importance (as they did in the Declaration of the Trades presented to Durham) they still always expected to attain their demands by constitutional means; and the demands themselves tended to be, with the exception perhaps of the ballot, what any middle-class radical was also demanding: household suffrage and shorter parliaments.

> . . . without the aid of the working classes every attempt at general improvement would be futile . . . Let not your Lordship for a moment suppose that we are so inconsiderate as to expect at once all that we innately feel an imperative right to claim - a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament,

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(31) 'When the Reform Bill was in progress, we sunk all our differences on minor points, and cordially united in giving our assistance in carrying it through; and it augurs well for our cause that we have had the good sense to do the same on the present occasion.' Argus, 30 Oct. 1834.

(32) A. Duncan at the meeting of operatives 30 Sept. 1834. Glasgow Evening Post, 4 Oct. 1834; see also Courier, 30 Sept. 1834.

(33) See above, p. 131.

(34) A. Duncan at the meeting of operatives 30 Sept. 1834. Glasgow Evening Post, 4 Oct. 1834.

> by the extension of the franchise to all who in any degree contribute to support the State, and advance the interests of the social compact. This we will ever claim - but, in pity for the ignorance, the violent prejudices, and the heartless illiberality of those of the higher classes who look upon us as a degraded caste, we will be glad to acquire by peaceful and constitutional means, and through the incessant droppings of imperishable truth, a gradual extension of our legitimate rights; . . .(35)

To underline their moderation and lack of rashness in demanding part of their due political power they referred to the measures passed by the Reform Parliament. They saw these as being totally irrelevant to the needs and condition of the British labourer; indeed they only increased his burdens.(36)

On big occasions then, sectional differences tended to become submerged. Despite the growing confidence, importance - and disillusion - of the working classes there were no revolutionary demands being made. Though the rhetoric had become more vehement than it had been in, for example, 1832, it was still nowhere near approaching revolutionary tendencies. Nor was it likely to be translated into action. The middle classes continued also to preach co-operation, having no sense of group identity directed against, or hostile to, the working classes. The lack of any irreparable breach between the middle and working classes can be seen in their reactions to the 'Dismissal of the Whigs'.

This occurred when Althorp's father, Earl Spencer died on 10 November 1834, and he, consequently was removed to the Lords. Althorp had been leader of the Whigs in the Commons. He was the most reliable member of the cabinet, and Melbourne had made his support a condition of taking office. William IV decided not to make any new arrangements for the continuance of the government, but to send for the Duke of Wellington (Peel was in Rome at the time) to form a Conservative government. This in fact amounted to a dismissal since the govern-

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(35) Argus, 30 Oct. 1834
(36) Ibid.

ment had not been defeated in the house over a major issue (the house was not sitting). Such action brought home the substance of royal power. It conjured up fears that a return to square one was imminent: Wellington would retain all real power in the hands of an oligarchy; preserve the irresponsibility of the Lords; support the abuses of the Church, both English and Irish; maintain close corporations, inefficient courts of law and support the Holy Alliance.(37)

The effect of this prospect was to promote greater unity. There was in fact, a repetition of the responses which had characterised the years 1830-2 (indeed the Political Union issued the same address against Wellington as it had in 1832);(38) the press advocated the stopping of the supplies;(39) the Magistrates, the Town Council, the Commissioners of Police, and the Incorporations addressed the King; Liberal Associations were formed; the committee of the Political Union was to sit permanently and unite with all other reformers.(40) As in 1832, the Trades while co-operating with the middle classes - their committee was to correspond with the committees of other bodies in Glasgow and throughout the country - also passed their own independent resolution condemnatory of the situation.(41)

On 22 November 1834 a public meeting was held, though this was only attended by between 20,000 and 30,000 people.(42) As in 1832 there were a large number of black flags with the usual slogans on them, such as 'Liberty or death'.(43)

The crisis heightened the cries for unity, which were now made in such terms as to suggest an awareness of the existence and dangers of divergency: Colin Dunlop pointed out that the only way to stop

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(37) Ibid. 20 Nov. 1834.
(38) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 29 Nov. 1834.
(39) e.g. Argus, 27 Nov. 1834.
(40) Ibid. 24 Nov. 1834.
(41) Scots Times, 25 Nov. 1834.
(42) The Argus, 24 Nov. 1834 explained this as due to inadequate publicity.
(43) Ibid.

Wellington becoming P.M. 'was for the Reformers to sink all minor differences - not to be questioning each other about opinions on smaller matters - but to unite with each other in simply asking "shall Wellington be Premier or not?"'(44)

Southereden, as a spokesman for the operatives,(45) seconded the resolutions: 'He strongly recommended unanimity of feeling and purpose, and stated that the operatives, as a body, had come to the resolution of suppressing all minor differences, in order that they might the more effectually meet the common enemy . . .' Once again, the importance and self-confidence of the operatives was stressed, though as always their rationality and reasonableness was emphasised - they would wait for their rights:

> He was free to say that had the operative classes had a share in the representation, the country would not have been in the situation in which it now stood (Hear). There was coming a time when the working classes must and shall get what they want, and what they are entitled to; but they would not force it on. They would wait with patience till circumstances arose which would give them their rights.(46)

Perhaps the most interesting speech was that of Abram Duncan - 'Mr. A. Duncan's eloquent speech would have done honour to any Statesman.'(47) He maintained that the working classes had a deep interest in ensuring that the 'nominee of the Northern Despots' should not become P.M. Wellington was compared to Durham, not just in personal terms, but also in terms of lacking commercial knowledge (this concern with commerce again demonstrated the working classes' involvement in the shared culture). The possible consequences of a Wellington administration were elucidated. These included the ruination of

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(44) Ibid.
(45) Glasgow Evening Post, 22 Nov. 1834.
(46) Argus, 24 Nov. 1834.
(47) Ibid.

Ireland; and showed the operatives' interest in foreign affairs and continental liberal movements.(48)

Once again his speech demonstrated that working-class demands were not revolutionary: what was needed, was merely what any middle-class reformer would have asked for - liberty and security of property. 'Had they not among them numerous statesmen who were filled with a deep love of liberty, and possessed of an inherent desire for the security of property? He proclaimed that the working classes disliked agitation (Hear, hear). They lived by the fruits of commerce; and they knew well that commerce could not flourish in the midst of agitation. (Cheers).'

Furthermore the 'enemy' was definitely not the middle classes, but the aristocracy: 'What, he asked, were they now fighting against? Only a section of the aristocracy; and by a constitutional firmness, and an adherence to the principles laid down in the address, the reign of that section would, to a certainty, be cut short.'(49) As might be expected, this was greeted with approval: 'The firm, the temperate, the rational conduct of the operatives is beyond all praise'.(50)

Despite the growing discontent then, the return to power of a Tory administration had closed the ranks and impressed all with the need for unity. In the operatives' eyes, the Tories and the aristocracy were still the greater evils: despite their feeling that the middle classes had failed them, there was no talk of abandoning them, for they were better than the Tories from whom there was no prospect of reform. This unity was to be maintained in the election of January 1835.(51)

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(48) It was thought that a Wellington administration would be a death-blow to liberalism in Spain, Portugal and Belgium; and in France it might induce Louis Philippe to become more conservative. Ibid.
(49) A. Duncan, 22 Nov. 1834, ibid.
(50) Argus, 24 Nov. 1834.
(51) The election is dealt with fully below, pp.151-3.

Though Glasgow now returned two reformers, instead of as before, one reformer, and one real Conservative (though nominal reformer) the elections nationally had shown a swing to the Conservatives. Such a change of opinion is also evident in Glasgow.(52) Among committed reformers however, unity was still intact. For though the working classes did not hesitate to tell the goverrment how the country should be run, they still trusted the Reform Ministry.(53) Such trust can be seen at the meeting for the repeal of the 'Taxes on Knowledge' held on 1 June 1835. This was 'composed chiefly of the working classes' who made no new demands. They wanted the abolition of all taxes on knowledge, settlement of Irish tithe, and a reduction in the army and pension list.

Indeed the working classes were at pains to show their moderation and lack of revolutionary aspirations. Alexander Campbell's words provided a further example of the way in which the strength of language might belie actual intentions. In April 1834 Campbell had favoured the operatives taking matters into their own hands,(54) now he was conciliatory and co-operative:

> It was said by some that many of the working classes were actuated by a desire for plunder, and had no other object in view than seizing upon the property and restraining the liberty of others. This charge was totally false (Hear). The working classes had, and could have no other objects in view, than such as were consistent with the rights of their fellow-countrymen of every class. All they wanted was, the privelege of uniting to protect their own labour, demanding their privileges, and a sufficient remuneration for their work.(55)

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(52) e.g. Conservative support for Peel in an address had given rise to a motion at a reform meeting on 8 April 1835 suggesting that Peel merited some support from 'loyal and Constitutional Reformers'. The motion was defeated. Courier, 9 April 1835.

(53) Hugh Graham, 1 June 1835, 'If the present Ministry would attend to the good of the people - and he saw no reason to doubt them . . .' Argus, 4 June 1835.

(54) See above, p. 134.

(55) A. Campbell, 1 June 1835, Argus, 4 June 1835.

Such an opinion found agreement among those of the middle classes who were present, such as William Weir of the Argus, again evidence of the co-operation that was taking place.

A rallying point, a cause to canalise this co-operative spirit soon appeared in the shape of agitation over municipal corporation reform.(56) There were around 250 municipal corporations in England and Wales. These varied in size and constitution: some were open democracies, others closed oligarchies. They had power to levy tolls and taxes. Often they possessed, as trustees, charitable bequests and other patronage, which they might use to influence voters at elections, though the Reform Act, by disfranchising some boroughs and introducing the £10 voter into others, deprived the corporations of much of their previous electoral influence.

Municipal reform therefore was to many radicals the natural follow up to parliamentary reform. The working-class radical looked on municipal corporations as tiny selfish cliques that did not pay attention to the social needs of the boroughs; the middle-class radical saw that business elements had no place on them, but were taxed by them and excluded from exercising local patronage; the parliamentary radical saw them as oligarchic adjuncts of aristocratic misrule.

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(56) 'We have now again got a standard round which to rally, as in the days of the original Reform Bill; and we must cluster round it with the old unwavering, sleepless - if you will, bigotted fidelity. We must have petitions when the King wavers - memorials when Ministers faint - addresses of adhesion when Tories press on. But, above all, we must REGISTER, REGISTER, REGISTER! The object for which we struggle is important. It will place 183 well-garrisoned and impregnable fortresses in the hands of the people. So here goes for another Russell Bill, without alteration and without curtailment.' Ibid. 8 June 1835.

Accordingly, given Glasgow's interest in Burgh reform in Scotland,(57) the Glasgow Reform press were enthusiastic about the proposed measure which sought to dissolve the old corporations and transfer their property and powers to new municipal councils elected by householders who had been ratepayers for at least three years.(58) Within the Conservative press, the Herald as usual sat on the fence,(59) while the Courier bitterly denounced it as merely a party measure designed to strengthen the Whigs and weaken the Conservatives.(60)

The issue however was not merely one of reforming corrupt municipal institutions: a major obstacle to the bill lay in the resistance to it in the House of Lords. Reformers feared that if the Lords were allowed to 'mutilate' the measure in any way, it would further encourage them to attack the rights of the people.(61) Consequently the Reform press urged the people to make a stand,(62) especially as no help could be expected from the King who was thought to be alienated from the people.(63) The streets were placarded with addresses drawing attention to the dangers which would ensue if the Lords threw out the bill.(64) On 15 August 1835, a petition which had been sponsored by the Glasgow Reform Association(65) was despatched with 30,624 signatures.(66)

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(57) 'He [Alexander Johnston] observed that Scotland had been blessed with a measure of searching and thorough Borough (sic) Reform; and they only wished that their brethern of England might enjoy the same rights and privileges, in struggling for which it was their duty to give them their warmest support.' Meeting 21 Aug. 1835, ibid. 24 Aug. 1835. See the Note on Burgh Reform.

(58) e.g. ' . . . its provisions are everything that the most ardent supporters of popular government could wish . . .', Glasgow Evening Post, 13 June 1835; see also Free Press, 10 June 1835; Scots Times, 9 June 1835.

(59) 'If all parties in England are pleased with the proposed measure, we have no wish to find fault.' Herald, 8 June 1835.

(60) Courier, 2 June 1835.

(61) Argus, 10 Aug. 1835.

(62) e.g. ibid.; Scots Times, 8 Aug. 1835.

(63) Argus, 13 Aug. 1835.

(64) Courier, 13 Aug. 1835.

(65) The resurrection of the Reform Association is considered fully below pp. 147-9.

(66) Argus, 17 Aug. 1835.

The Glasgow reformers were hardly less alarmed when the Lords appeared ready to pass the bill but only after large amendments designed to protect privilege, property and the nominative principle in borough government had been included.(67) This aroused fears that if the Lords succeeded over corporations, there would be nothing to hinder them from amending the Reform Bill.(68) There were calls for the creation of liberal peers. On 21 August 1835 a public meeting was held at which the severity of the crisis was underlined: 'They were now called upon to take the first step in a campaign for the complete conquest of their half-won liberties.'(69) There were strong denunciations of Lyndhurst's speech in the Lords on 17 August 1835, in which he had maintained the system worked badly in Glasgow.(70) Warnings were issued to the Lords, and the Commons were encouraged to take decisive action: should they feel it necessary to refuse to pass an appropriation act, or grant it in a restricted form, they could count on the people's support; petitions were adopted.(71)

It was however to no avail, and in September the Commons accepted the bill. Glasgow now called for the return of real reformers at the next election and reform of the Lords.(72) Reform of the Lords was also to be an issue in the next episode in Glasgow's reform history - the demonstration on behalf of Daniel O'Connell.

The O'Connell demonstration took place on 21 September 1835 with a dinner on 22 September 1835. The preparations prior to the actual

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(67) e.g. preserving the property and parliamentary status of freemen; requiring a property qualification for town councillors; dividing towns of more than 6000 inhabitants into wards; one-quarter of town councillors elected under the new arrangements were to hold office for life as aldermen.
(68) Glasgow Evening Post, 22 Aug. 1835.
(69) W. Weir 21 Aug. 1835, Argus, 24 Aug. 1835.
(70) Lyndhurst maintained that due to the lack of a property qualification Glasgow town councillors were too poor to contribute to the poor rate, and that some were bankrupts. John Douglas refuted this: only one had been a bankrupt and he had discharged his debts.
(71) Argus, 24 Aug. 1835.
(72) e.g. ibid. 10 Sept. 1835.

demonstration were marked by a strong Orange feeling among a certain section of Glasgow society, and a dispute over policy causing the Trades to take separate action.

O'Connell was denounced from the pulpit; Convener McLellan asserted that the Trades House would be burned down if he were allowed to dine there.(73) Protestant meetings deplored the great increase in Roman Catholicism: Catholics must be rescued from their errors.(74) A section of the press was content not just with swingeing attacks on O'Connell's political morality,(75) but also delivered little 'hints':

> We make no surmise as to how Edinburgh may receive him; but we give him this timely warning, that, in this Protestant and Covenanting City, it may be dangerous for any bloodthirsty Papist and political agitator, like him, to approach it nearer than Camlachie or Tollcross. We trust this hint will be sufficient both to the Big Beggar-man and his paltry gang here and hereabouts: for we can assure both that the ancient spirit of the land is not yet dead, nor will any insult upon its religious feelings be tamely submitted to.(76)

In contrast, the attitude of the Trades was tolerant and liberal. They thought his views on church policy were very creditable. This rationality and maturity of outlook was reflected in the change in the operatives' view of their role in society. While again emphasising their importance as 'sane Men and useful Citizens' they now saw themselves as playing a permanent part in political life, taking steps to secure a portable platform or hustings for use on all future great public occasions.(77)

Accordingly when the Town Hall Committee demurred to the toast of 'Household Suffrage, Triennial Parliaments, and vote by Ballot',

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(73) Ibid. 17 Sept. 1835.
(74) Meetings 17, 18 Sept. 1835, ibid. 21 Sept. 1835.
(75) Courier, 5 Sept. 1835.
(76) Ibid. 12 Sept. 1835 quoted in Argus, 14 Sept. 1835.
(77) Meeting of delegates from trades, factory shops, districts and 'others friendly', 20 Aug. 1835, Argus, 24 Aug. 1835.

the working classes invited O'Connell to a soirée managed by themselves. They also had their own procession in which pride of place went to the labourers 'who are to have a large band and a flag which we understand cost £10'.(78) Tickets cost 3/- (15p) in contrast to the 15/- (75p) of those of the Town Hall Committee.

Nevertheless despite this independent action, the working classes still took part in the main demonstration with the middle classes and still saw themselves as bound up with the rest of society, as their address demonstrated. This called for reform of the Lords (a cry which had been reiterated in ever growing strains since the Lords' conduct over municipal corporations), and attacked the Commons demanding that it be made more responsible to the nation at large. This was to be effected by franchise extension and shorter parliaments which would strengthen the hands of the King and his ministers in their work.(79) That is, the Trades were voicing the traditional radical remedies for the traditional grievances.

The lack of any real breach in radical thought can be seen from the fact that the Political Union echoed the same comments though in a more muted form, since it still believed the Reform Ministry, despite all its imperfections had the comfort and happiness of the people at heart.(80) Moreover the list of toasts made showed that class co-operation was still envisaged: 'The Magistrates and Town Council felt in unison with the Trades . . .'(81) While the Trades demonstrated their customary moderation by thanking the Lord Provost and Magistrates for granting the use of the Bazaar, and Mr. Watson, superintendent of Police for his work in preserving order.

The separate action of the Trades therefore, should not be exaggerated, since the 'hero' remained the same and it did not lead

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(78) Glasgow Evening Post, 19 Sept. 1835.
(79) Argus, 21 Sept. 1835.
(80) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 26 Sept. 1835.
(81) Bailie Craig. Argus, 24 Sept. 1835; Wallace of Kelly also toasted the Trades ibid.

to any bitterness. Rather it was merely a stage in the evolution of a radical consciousness and political maturity of the operatives - a maturity to be emphasised in their realisation that though splendid demonstrations and processions were all very well, there was also a need for follow-up action 'with some more definite expression of their sentiments . . .'(82)

III

Given the amount of activity and the growing maturity of those engaged in it, it was not surprising that the established organisation for reform, the Political Union, should come in for close scrutiny. Dissatisfaction with the Political Union had been growing since 1833. True the Political Union had been fairly active: as well as petitioning against the Irish Coercion bill, it had stressed the need for the ballot, triennial parliaments and the repeal of the taxes on knowledge;(83) it had decided that the Reform Act was not working, seeking renewed agitation for practical reform and petitioning for this;(84) it had censured Ewing for not voting on Hume's motion for the abolition of naval and military sinecures, thereby demonstrating its close watch on parliamentary conduct;(85) it had set up a committee to watch over the Lord Advocate's bill for Burgh reform, and committees to prepare a petition for the abolition of Church patronage;(86) petitioned for the separation of Church and State in Scotland; and called for extensive law reform.(87) Yet there was nothing in this activity to which a good Whig or middle-class reformer could object. Hence the extreme radical disgust:

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(82) Glasgow Evening Post, 17 Oct. 1835.
(83) Ibid. 23 Feb. 1833.
(84) Meeting 26 Feb. 1833, Argus, 1 Mar. 1833.
(85) Meeting 1 Mar. 1833, Glasgow Evening Post, 2 Mar. 1833.
(86) Meeting 26 Feb. 1833, Argus, 1 Mar. 1833.
(87) Meeting 12 Mar. 1833, ibid. 14 Mar. 1833.

> . . . it is professedly a Whig Union, and it is controlled by a domineering Whig leader . . . Hear it, Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliament Men of Birmingham and London! The Glasgow Political Union petitioned for Household Suffrage and Triennial Parliaments!!! Shameful! . . . Universal Suffrage, for example, is a Radical measure because it goes to the fountain-head, and bases itself on the first principles of Government, namely taxation and representation which are inseparable.(88)

The Political Union's refusal to include universal suffrage and annual parliaments among its 1832 election pledges, because the candidates objected, was also bitterly denounced.(89)

This marked the start of the split among reform opinion which was to end in this period with the new Radical Associations and later with Chartism. The Political Union remained in being: it petitioned against the Corn Laws;(90) for the Burghs Reform bill;(91) to remove bishops from the Lords;(92) for the ballot;(93) for the separation of Church and State;(94) against the Water Co. bill;(95) it had been active in the crisis over the 'Dismissal of the Whigs'; called for unity at the 1835 election;(96) presented an address to O'Connell;(97) and petitioned for reform of the Lords.(98) Nevertheless the 'middle' ground which it represented tended to have less influence. Opinion became more polarised around the Glasgow Reform Association (Whig) or the new Radical Associations (Radical). This was merely a foreshadowing of the later grouping round the two rival organisations of Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law movement.

The resurrection of the Glasgow Reform Association resulted, as it acknowledged itself, from the efficacy of Tory organisation demonstrated at the crisis over the 'Dismissal of the Whigs'.(99)

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(88) Agitator, 9 Mar. 1833.
(89) Ibid.
(90) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 1 June 1833; ibid. 1 Mar. 1834.
(91) Ibid. 1 June 1833.
(92) Ibid. 29 June 1833.
(93) Argus, 8 Aug. 1833.
(94) Glasgow Evening Post, 8 Mar. 1834.
(95) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 29 Mar. 1834.
(96) Glasgow Evening Post, 6 Dec. 1834.
(97) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 26 Sept. 1834.
(98) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XXXV, 4 Aug. 1836, col. 904.
(99) See above, p. 136; Resolution 1, meeting 16 June 1835, Argus, 18 June 1835.

The Political Union was still in existence and still active, but it was clearly thought that an organisation formed purely to secure liberal M.Ps. and councillors was necessary,(100) that is, it was a direct attempt to secure political power and hence to influence decisions.

It was more radical than its predecessor of the same name: it was no longer satisfied with the Reform Act.(101) Learning from its past mistakes its membership fee was a minimum of 6d. (2½p). But it was still essentially very middle-class. This was shown in its review of the benefits brought by the Reform Bill: 'The Bill itself had been passed - the East India trade had been opened up - and the great measure of Slave Emancipation had been carried. For these things Parliament was entitled to the thanks of the country, but much, nevertheless, remained yet to be done.'(102) Again, its office-holders, though of a slightly lower social standing than those in the original Reform Association, were still largely men of substance. The occupations of the twelve interim conveners were as follows: five merchants, two manufacturers, one doctor, one tobacconist, one distiller, one tea-dealer and one of independent means. Three had previously been members of the Political Union, and two of the old Reform Association.

The occupations of the sixty people comprising the first committee(103) (five for each of the twelve districts) showed a similar spread: there were twelve merchants, seven manufacturers, five writers, three of independent means, two doctors, two feuars, two tobacconists, two grocers, two newspapermen, two jewellers, one cotton spinner, one umbrella maker, one publisher, one ironmonger,

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(100) Resolution 2, ibid.
(101) 'Everyone understood it [the Reform Bill] as a means to an end, and that end was good Government (loud continued cheering). It was simply as a means to the attainment of other reforms that it was demanded,. . .' Walter Buchanan, ibid.
(102) Walter Buchanan, ibid.
(103) For a list of committee members see ibid. 23 June 1836.

one engraver, one advocate, one builder, one cabinet maker, one accountant, one distiller, one shipbuilder, one dyer, one tea-dealer, one brewer, and seven whose occupations are unknown, but of whom three were bailies. Of these sixty people, thirteen had previously belonged to the old Reform Association and twelve to the Political Union. As such therefore the Reform Association did not provide any outlet for the working classes.

Moreover under the pressure of events the working classes were becoming increasingly aware of their importance. Eighteen thirty-six was to see this growing maturity and awareness of their political power culminate in the foundation of the Radical Association for the West of Scotland. Movement towards this can be traced in such meetings as that of the Operative Masons held on 19 February 1836 for the abolition of the Stamp Duty. Abolition was no longer sought solely on the grounds of inherent good, there was also the implicit threat: 'The working classes of this country are now united to an extent never before; it is therefore of the utmost consequence that the power which that union gives should be properly directed, and this cannot be expected so long as the Legislature interposes a heavy tax between them and knowledge.'(104) A resolution was carried for a standing committee to watch the course of political events. This would have the power to call meetings of the trade, and correspond with other workmen willing to join in the same cause. They might then be able to seize the proper moment to urge their demands for household suffrage, triennial parliaments, abolition of the Corn Laws, and other similar measures.(105)

Similar ideas were expressed at the E.G.M. of the United Iron Moulders held on 2 December 1836. This resolved that taxation without representation was unjust, as well as contrary to reason and

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(104) Sym, 19 Feb. 1836, Glasgow Evening Post, 20 Feb. 1836.
(105) Ibid.

common sense; the present franchise qualifications deprived 'a most numerous and useful class' of their rights. All therefore should do everything constitutional to obtain their rights including co-operation with other united trades.(106)

Again, at the meeting for the 'Improvement of the Working Classes' held on 9 December 1836, when Bailie Craig met the operatives, Sym, speaking on behalf of the masons showed how the working classes were increasingly turning to politics. Though he was not in favour of political matters being mixed with trades unions,(107) he thought the masons should be taking a greater interest in politics: 'The fact was, that the working classes had yet to learn the amount of the power they themselves possessed, notwithstanding the instructive lesson which had been afforded during the last few years.'(108) There was therefore constant emphasis on, and growing awareness of, the importance of the working classes.

The culmination of this was the formation of a Radical Association for the West of Scotland (later known as the National Radical Association) on 9 December(109) 1836, based on universal suffrage, annual parliaments, the ballot, and if the members wished, a voluntary church.(110) Alexander Campbell voiced the sense of frustration that the working classes were undoubtedly feeling: ' . . . they had been taking instalments too long, and they now wanted their rights, and nothing but their rights (cheers). Instalments were only taken when the debtor was unable to pay the principal - to liquidate the whole'.(111) A resolution in favour of annual parliaments was

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(106) Argus, 5 Dec. 1836.
(107) This unwillingness to mix politics with economics (in the shape of unions) is perhaps a factor in explaining why co-operation was possible.
(108) Argus, 12 Dec. 1836.
(109) There is some dubiety over the date: the Glasgow Evening Post, 10 Dec. 1836 dates it as 9 Dec., the Scots Times, 10 Dec. 1836 as 6 Dec. 1836.
(110) Glasgow Evening Post, 10 Dec. 1836.
(111) Scots Times, 10 Dec. 1836.

carried; and though there was disagreement over this, arrangements were made for the visit of Feargus O'Connor.(112)

O'Connor came to Glasgow on 12 December 1836. An address was read to him, and he was authorised to tell English radicals that Glasgow radicals were ready to unite with them to secure their rights.(113) On 20 February 1837 the Partick Reform Association was founded. The entry fee was a minimum of 1d. (½p). Its programme was household suffrage for those aged 21 and over; the ballot, triennial parliaments, payment of M.Ps., no money qualification, and significantly, abolition of the Corn Laws.(114) That is, it was coming close to Chartism, but with no divergence from the idea that reform should include abolition of the Corn Laws. On 16 October 1837 the North Quarter Reform Association was founded.(115) The working classes therefore, were coming nearer and nearer to demanding what were to be the Six Points of the Charter, and more and more forming organisations of a purely working-class nature.

A similar split and polarisation of views among reformers can be seen in their conduct in the elections of this period. The 1835 election had taken place against a background of growing discontent, but the return to power of the Tories had once again closed the ranks and emphasised the need for unity. Both the sitting candidates, Oswald and Ewing, presented themselves for re-election. A third candidate, Colin Dunlop was to emerge because of activity by five liberal ward associations. (Liberal associations had been founded steadily in the wards.) The committees of five ward associations appointed a central committee, consisting of seven delegates from each. This central committee unanimously recommended Dunlop as a candidate behind whom liberal electors could unite, to stand along with Oswald.(116)

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(112) Glasgow Evening Post, 10 Dec. 1836.
(113) Argus, 15 Dec. 1836.
(114) Ibid. 23 Feb. 1837.
(115) Ibid. 19 Oct. 1837.
(116) Ibid. 5 Jan. 1835.

The campaigns were fought both on national and local issues. Religious questions were prominent; the other main issues being triennial parliaments, corporation reform in England and Ireland, Irish Church reform, and the Corn Laws. Ewing's parliamentary conduct was closely examined, with hostility, both in the press and in the district meetings. At the district meetings the candidates were asked to give pledges that they would support an address to the King expressing want of confidence in the Tory ministry; that they would if necessary vote to stop the supplies; vote for triennial parliaments; give an account of their conduct to their constituents and express their constituents' views. Ewing was evasive, cautious, hesitant; while Oswald and Dunlop gave clear, decisive answers, and were invariably chosen as suitable candidates(117) - a choice which was reflected in the official result:

TABLE XIX

Candidate	Votes	Percentage of Poll
Oswald	3832	41
Dunlop	3267	35
Ewing	2297	24

Unity of the reformers had remained intact. Nor had the unenfranchised tried to play an independent role. According to the Courier the reason for this was that working men had at last realised they were being duped by the middle-class radical for his own ends:

> They now see that by these exhibitions they have gained nothing; and although they are addressed by the speakers in a very loving strain, and are called by the sweet endearing names of "Fellow-Citizens" and "Friends", and have even the enchanting sound of "Brethern" rung in their ears, the veil is now drawn from their eyes, and they attribute to this well-acted farce its true cause . . .(118)

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(117) Meetings with 2nd and 3rd districts etc., ibid. 8 Jan. 1835.
(118) Courier, 8 Jan. 1835.

If the working classes had indeed perceived this, then the lesson they were to take from it, was not the one the Courier advocated: that of adhering to Conservatism, but rather the independent action of Chartism. For the moment however, the fact that the unenfranchised had not played an independent role in the election can probably be explained by the fact that artisans did play a part in the liberal associations, and therefore were being encompassed institutionally.(119)

A move to more independent action, and a split between Whig and Radical reformers became apparent in the by-election of 1836 caused by Dunlop's retiral due to ill health. The first sign of this was the doubt over who was to be the candidate. The Spectator among others, had assumed that Lord William Bentinck would be chosen. But for a brief while Feargus O'Connor toyed with the idea of standing - apparently in response to a hint in the True Free Press. He had published an address in the London True Sun to the 'Independent Electors and Non-Electors of Glasgow', in which he declared he stood for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal representation, and no property qualifications for M.Ps.(120)

He found favour however, with no Glasgow newspaper, a fate shared by the other proposed candidate at this time - John Douglas, one of the defeated candidates of 1832: 'Mr. Douglas may do very well for Wigtown, or any out-of-the-way place, where he is unknown, and cannot work mischief: and Mr. O'Connor may do very well for a repealing constituency in his own country, where he is known, and may beat an Orangeman, but neither shall do for Glasgow.'(121)

To secure a suitable candidate, a meeting of electors and non-electors was held on 19 January 1836, where a number of names were proposed. Among these were the Lord Provost, William Stirling,

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(119) e.g. Daniel McAulay was a committee member of the 2nd district liberal association.
(120) Argus, 11 Jan. 1836.
(121) Ibid.

Bailies Lumsden and Johnston, John Douglas, Feargus O'Connor, Bentinck, and William Dixon. Though this meeting proved abortive, nevertheless it is interesting for the light it sheds on the operatives' views of the qualities needed by an M.P. Abram Duncan, later a prominent Chartist, proposed the man who became the meeting's choice(122) - the great industrialist William Dixon: ' . . . mere flash speakers or sparkling wits were not the persons wanted to represent Glasgow, but men of sound practical sense, who well understood the wants of the community, and who had clear-headed views of national policy. Such a man he considered Mr. Dixon . . .'(123)

The difference between Duncan's thinking and that of the Reform Association became evident when the Reform Association's central committee chose Bentinck 'by an overwhelming majority'. They did so because it was thought the return of a local man would cause division among the electors. Even before the report recommending Bentinck was officially adopted however, strenuous defence had to be made of him.(124)

A series of testimonials was brought forward to back him up, but others were not so easily convinced, and his views on the franchise, the ballot, triennial parliaments and free trade were closely examined. In the end the report was adopted, but it had provided another manifestation of that evolution of separate Whig and Radical consciousness: those accepting the report were the middle-class Whigs who had realised that further pressure on the government would not secure further reform, but would only let the Tories in. Hence to them, unanimity was all-important. But everywhere unanimity seemed to be lacking: the Political Union was similarly divided, and after a number of confused meetings, it decided on 28 January against Bentinck.(125)

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(122) Though only one-third of those present participated in this vote.
(123) A. Duncan, 19 Jan. 1836, Argus, 21 Jan. 1836.
(124) Ibid. 25 Jan. 1836.
(125) Ibid. 1 Feb. 1836.

This division of opinion was reflected in the district meetings and in the press. At the district meetings there was often substantial opposition to the adoption of the Reform Association's report endorsing Bentinck's candidature: at the meeting of the first, second and third districts, seventy voted for the report, and fifty-five for the amendment that Bentinck was not a fit candidate; at the eleventh and twelfth districts' meeting, sixty voted for the report, and forty-six for the amendment.(126) The press was similarly split: the Argus supporting Bentinck with reservations, as the man necessary because of the crisis;(127) the Glasgow Evening Post strongly opposed to him: Ewing though a Tory, had done good work, while Bentinck would make Glasgow's name a mockery.(128)

It was not surprising then, that another candidate should be sought. William Stirling was asked to stand, and though he declined because he did not want the expense of a disputed election, he was decidedly opposed to Bentinck and voiced much of the popular dissatisfaction. This centred on Bentinck's equivocal declarations on church endowments, triennial parliaments, the ballot; and the fact that he was both an aristocrat and a military man.(129)

A firm candidate came forth however, after the appearance of Bentinck's address on 4 February 1836. In this he promised to support Melbourne, Irish Church reform and Irish municipal corporation reform. He favoured shorter parliaments (by which he meant five years), extension of the suffrage and abolition of the Corn Laws. He opposed the ballot and any change in the Lords. Finally, he would resign if his constituents wished.(130)

His address nevertheless, was greeted somewhat unenthusiastically:

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(126) Ibid. 28 Jan. 1836.
(127) Ibid.
(128) Glasgow Evening Post, 30 Jan. 1836.
(129) Argus, 28 Jan. 1836.
(130) Ibid. 8 Feb. 1836.

' . . . such a tissue of crude contrarieties in so small a compass, we have rarely seen proceed from the pen of one professing to be a Statesman.'(131) Even his own supporters were not 100 per cent behind him: at a meeting on 9 February to consider how to secure Bentinck's return, Fullarton hoped that Dunlop would recover sufficiently to be returned at the next election.(132)

A public meeting in Gorbals on 9 February revealed that George Mills, son of the Lord Provost was prepared to stand, providing a Tory was not brought into the field to split the vote. He was nominated by Dr. Walker and seconded by Abram Duncan.(133) There was much satisfaction that there was now opposition to what was considered the Clique's hogging of the nomination. (It was alleged that Oswald, himself a Clique nominee, was responsible for the nomination of Bentinck, who was also backed by the Reform Association which was still in popular eyes broadly equatable with the Clique.)

There was even some attempt at a Conservative-radical alliance: the Courier claimed 'by much the least mischievous representative, in every point of view would be Mr. Mills'.(134) On 15 February walls were placarded with appeals for Conservatives to unite with the supporters of Mills to put down the Clique. This emphasises the fact that lines cannot always be drawn clearly between the different sections of the community (this was also evident at the nomination, where Dr. Walker, the seconder of Mills said, 'Why, they would be better with Mr. James Ewing. He was indeed much better, and was every whit as liberal in his professions as this stranger . . .'(135))

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Mills had won on a show of hands at the hustings, the result was Bentinck, 1995 votes, Mills 903

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(131) Constitutional, 10 Feb. 1836.
(132) Argus, 11 Feb. 1836.
(133) Ibid.
(134) Courier, 16 Feb. 1836.
(135) Argus, 15 Feb. 1836.

votes. Out of an electorate of 8922 only 2898 had bothered to vote. As a percentage of the total electorate, extreme radicals won 9.88 per cent.(136) Taking a percentage of the votes cast, their candidates had secured 31 per cent. Glasgow political opinion was now very obviously divided: 'On the one side were all the milk and water Whigs, with the tag-rag of "tea and jelly" radicalism, comprising much of the wealth and what is vulgarly understood to be the respectability of the reforming community, while on the other side stood the unorganised mass of the substantial and most numerous portion of the electors, with all the non-electors at their back.'(137) The press too, was equally divided, for example, the Glasgow Evening Post now thought it mattered little whether the reforming interest was split or not: 'better have an honest Tory than a worthless Ministerialist'.(138)

It was hardly surprising then, that the working classes themselves should be feeling that such an M.P. was not entirely in their interests. And when Bentinck met his constituents on 30 November 1836, the working classes took an interest in the proceedings. His equivocal answers on most points, including repeal of the Corn Laws, and stopping supplies if harmony was not secured between the Lords and Commons; his refusal to promote further extension of the suffrage and vote against the Pension List, his avowal against organic change, caused Alexander Campbell to move an amendment against giving him a vote of thanks.

> The question I have referred to - (Cries of "Name") - that question [the extension of the suffrage] involves the interests of five-sixths of the people - all those whose circumstances will not enable them to pay more of rent than £9-19-6 [£9.97½]. All these he has stigmatised as not intelligent enough. (Cries of "No, no"). . . . I ask if there are not as intelligent men who pay £7, £8, or £9 of rent, as any of those who pay £10? (Cheers). Surely there are . . .(139)

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(136) As the Courier, 18 Feb. 1836 delighted in pointing out.
(137) Liberator, quoted in Argus, 15 Feb. 1836.
(138) Glasgow Evening Post, 20 Feb. 1836.
(139) Argus, 1 Dec. 1836.

This was defeated, but even the Argus had by now deserted Bentinck,(140) and his subsequent meetings with the unenfranchised proved no more satisfactory.(141)

Such a split in reform opinion however, was by no means irreparable. When there seemed a prospect of a dissolution in March 1837, the National Radical Association urged unity. Despite its interest in the London Workingmen's Association (whose pamphlets were quoted) its demands were still moderate: no agreement could be reached on the ballot, but petitions against fictitious votes, and church rates, and for triennial parliaments were approved.(142)

Accordingly at the by-election in May 1837, due to the retiral of Oswald, Dennistoun was supported by the trades delegates, and radical leaders Feargus O'Connor and Dr. John Taylor, despite the fact that he thought it was too dangerous then to extend the suffrage.(143) Lip-service was paid to the interests and needs of the working classes: 'We have a very important duty to perform, not only as regards ourselves in sending up a representative whom we can trust, but also as regards the interests of all the unenfranchised classes.'(144) Religious questions again played a large part in the campaigns of both the candidates, Dennistoun and Monteith. Indeed religion had become such an issue that Bailie Dunlop gave it as the reason for his ceasing

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(140) Ibid.
(141) Meeting 2 Dec. 1836, ibid. 5 Dec. 1836.
(142) Ibid. 9 Mar. 1837.
(143) Meeting of electors and non-electors at Barrowfield 23 May 1837, where Dr. Taylor defended the operatives from the charge of being revolutionary. Ibid. 25 May 1837. The cotton spinners' committee however wished to have nothing to do with him, seeing him as 'an enemy to the working classes, and an enemy to a fair remuneration for the Workman's labour, and to the price which the market can afford.' A. Swinton, Trial of the Glasgow Cotton Spinners (Edin., 1838), Appendix p. XXV.
(144) Bailie Fleming, Argus, 22 May 1837.

to be a reformer.(145) The result was a victory for the reformers: Dennistoun secured 3044 votes, Monteith, Conservative 2298.

At the general election which occurred only two months later, due to Victoria's accession, continuing dissatisfaction with Bentinck was again apparent among a section of reformers. Dr. John Taylor proposed to stand on the principles of universal suffrage, the ballot, annual parliaments, free trade and a voluntary church, that is, apart from free trade, the programme of the National Radical Association.(146) Nevertheless he still promised his help to Dennistoun.(147) His candidature however, was opposed at a meeting of the radicals, where it was suggested his main supporters were Tories, and in the event he did not go to the polls.(148) Moreover despite the dissatisfaction with Bentinck he still topped the poll, the result being:

TABLE XX

Candidate	Votes	Percentage of Poll
Bentinck	2767	28.5
Dennistoun	2743	28.2
Campbell (Conservative)	2121	21.8
Monteith (")	2090	21.5

The elections therefore had displayed another area where reform opinion was becoming fragmented. But even when separate action was taken, and even when this had become institutionalised in new political organisations, there were still many points of contact between the classes. For the middle classes as a whole had by no means forsaken

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(145) 'I have all my life been a Reformer, and desirous to maintain the rights of the people, but I cannot continue to advocate these principles with a party who have thrown religion overboard; and since that party have adopted, as their creed, a national system of education in which the Bible is to be excluded, I can no longer go along with them.' Bailie Dunlop, 22 May 1837, ibid. 25 May 1837.
(146) See above, p. 150.
(147) Courier, 25 July 1837.
(148) Argus, 27 July 1837.

reform: for example, they met and petitioned over the question of Irish municipal corporation reform;(149) and they decided to subscribe to help defray the election expenses of Daniel O'Connell.(150)

One such point of contact was the meeting for the 'Improvement of the Working Classes' held on 9 December 1836. At this Bailie William Craig, while extolling the operative masons' virtues, advised them to educate themselves and unite with the middle classes against the common enemy - the aristocracy.(151) Similarly at the dinner given to Oswald on 5 January 1837 tributes were paid to the moderation and intelligence of the working classes.(152)

And once again the spectre of Toryism called forth responses of class co-operation. The occasion was the visit of Peel for his installation as Rector of the University. For the occasion, the Conservative operatives had prepared an address. This congratulated Peel on his election as Rector, praised his eminence as a scholar, and his work for the National Church, and echoed almost literally his views on reform as expressed in the Tamworth Manifesto. It also saw the interests of the working classes as tied up with the aristocracy: 'We regard the interests of the Working Classes as identified with, and inseparable from, those of the Aristocracy, and should consider any infraction of the rights of the Peers, as the passage of an ulterior violation of the liberties of the People.'(153)

This immediately caused a storm of protest from the operatives, which may have been increased by the mock address printed by the Argus.(154) The Iron Moulders and(155) Cotton Yarn Dressers(156) dissociated

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(149) Meeting 31 May 1836, ibid. 2 June 1836. Petition with more than 23,000 signatures was despatched, ibid. 6 June 1836.
(150) Ibid. 9 June 1836.
(151) Ibid. 12 Dec. 1836.
(152) Glasgow Evening Post, 7 Jan. 1837.
(153) Courier, 3 Jan. 1837.
(154) Argus, 29 Dec. 1836; see Appendix XXVII.
(155) Meeting 29 Dec. 1836, ibid. 2 Jan. 1837.
(156) Ibid. 12 Jan. 1837.

themselves from it. A meeting of trades delegates was held to disclaim it, and restore Glasgow operatives in the eyes of Europe.(157) While it was admitted that some operatives had signed the address, it was maintained that once they realised its true nature, they had recanted. A further meeting was to be held on 12 January 1837 to consider a suitable form of protest.(158)

Once again the threat of Conservatism had brought forth class co-operation with Ure and Turner among those of the middle classes present, who addressed the meeting. A series of resolutions was passed totally condemning Peel and his government; calling for further reform (since the £10 franchise excluded most of those present); the abolition of hereditary rights; the separation of Church and State. A standing committee was set up for further emergencies. The Town Council was thanked for refusing the freedom of the city to Peel.

Nevertheless it is true, there was definite support for Peel. A Conservative operative opposed the resolutions, explaining he had become converted to Conservatism, and that the 3000 people signing the address had as good a right to do so as any others. This of course was not passed, but it was indicative of reaction - a reaction which could also be seen in the existence of a Conservative Operative Association.(159) (The address from the Conservative Operatives was presented to Peel at the banquet.)(160)

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(157) ' . . . to rescue their character from utter contempt and reproach, and to save themselves from being the laughing-stock of Europe . . .' Ibid.

(158) Jas. Burn suggested they let the dinner pass quietly, then the 'Radicals should show the Tories, and worse than them, the Whig-Radicals - those men of no principle, who sailed under false colours - what they were able to perform for themselves'. Ibid.

(159) See e.g. ibid. 20 Mar. 1837; Records of the Glasgow Conservative Operatives' Association. I am indebted to Dr. J. T. Ward of the University of Strathclyde who kindly allowed me access to these records.

(160) Argus, 16 Jan. 1837.

Even more significant in indicating the absence of any irrevocable breach between the middle and working classes - especially when the amount of distress prevailing at the time is considered - was the specifically Working-Class Meeting of 14 June 1837. Called to find a way to prevent a future occurrence of commercial distress, it was a meeting typical of Glasgow radicalism with its reasoned, articulate view of the role of government, respect for property, reverence for self-help; and while it displayed attitudes coming nearer to a 'knife and fork' analysis of the question, yet the idea was still to benefit the whole of society which was seen as suffering from the perennial enemy, the aristocracy.

The meeting maintained that a man had a natural right to subsistence provided he was willing to work and obey the laws of society; it was the first duty of every government to provide this - it was not a party issue. Charity was of course ruled out. They wanted work and thought the government should have public works ready for such an occasion, since the objects of a government 'ought to be the protection of the people, looking carefully after their interests, providing for their wants in times of distress and suffering, educating them, and attending generally to their improvement both morally and physically'.(161) Respect for property was underlined.

Important for future trends however, was the fact that abolition of the Corn Laws was not seen as an exclusive middle-class question. Repeal of the Corn Laws was not considered simply as an 'extra' to be gained once political reform had been secured: 'This [the Corn Laws] was the great, the radical evil - the cardinal curse of the country.'(162) Dr. John Taylor advised the exact opposite: abolish the Corn Laws before agitating for political reform.

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(161) A. McFadyen, 14 June 1837, ibid. 15 June 1837.
(162) Jackson, ibid.

> They would leave it (continued Dr. Taylor) to the speculating philosopher to talk about Triennial Parliaments, the Vote by Ballot, and education and endowed churches - let them speculate on those as much as they will - but we must have food before we can enjoy any of them (Cheers). Dr. Taylor then proceeded to point out the gross and glaring tyranny and oppression of the Corn Laws, pointing out the urgent necessity of first of all giving the people food, before any attempt could be made to instruct them. (163)

Resolutions condemning the Corn Laws and demanding their abolition were passed.(164) There was no hostility therefore to the idea of combining political reform with repeal of the Corn Laws. Similarly a meeting in Gorbals on 8 December 1837 pointed out that the Reform Act was not final and adopted petitions for the abolition of the Corn Laws and the ballot.(165)

IV

The period 1833-7 then, had been one of constant agitation, during which changes within the reform ranks had become evident. Reformers as a group had tended to split into three strands. These strands were reflected in the political organisations of the time. The Political Union had largely died, losing its members either to the Reform Association or to the new Radical Associations. The Reform Association was Whig ('Whig' being defined as supporting the government but unwilling to go much further), middle-class, cautious. But even it had had to make concessions over membership fees, though as usual, it was still one step behind: when it had reduced its fees to 6d. (2½p), the Radical Associations were charging 1d. (½p). Its political philosophy was epitomised by its choice of Bentinck as M.P. The Radical Associations speak for themselves, with their programmes approaching ever nearer to Chartism.

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(163) Taylor, ibid.
(164) Ibid. The Argus, 26 June 1837 thought the meeting had stated 'bold and important truths'.
(165) Ibid. 11 Dec. 1837.

Electorally, Glasgow had from 1835 on, returned two liberal or non-Tory members. For though there was some Tory resurgence, there was never the same revival in Peel's prestige in Scotland, as there had been in England. The elections themselves were increasingly highly organised affairs: Bentinck could be returned without visiting his constituency. The candidates paid lip-service to the idea of responsibility, dutifully appearing before the new liberal associations, and showed some concern for the unenfranchised. But by 1837 the unenfranchised very nearly had their own candidates, for example, John Taylor. Interest groups and lobbies were another feature of the elections, where religious questions had become increasingly important (this to some extent reflected the large amount of time and energy devoted to the Irish Church, and the question of tithe in Parliament).

In fact, all the major issues debated in Parliament had found a response in Glasgow public opinion. The responses which these evoked, were those of a literate, articulate public, both of the middle and working classes: ' . . . the working classes were men whose opinions were the result of long study'.(166) They had set up their own newspaper, the Liberator. The working classes always aware of their rights, became in this period, increasingly aware also of their strength, and consequently developed a self-confidence to accompany it. They, unlike the middle-class Whigs, wished to keep up a constant pressure from without. Nevertheless they always exhibited a marked degree of rationality in all their activities.

Indeed outsiders were impressed by the good sense of the Glasgow operatives. At the time of the May 1837 election, the Spectator reviewed the state of opinion in Glasgow, a constituency which it thought to be particularly independent.(167) It saw reform opinion

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(166) H. G. Graham, Durham Festival, 29 Oct. 1834, ibid. 30 Oct. 1834.

(167) 'The constituency of Glasgow may not be more enlightened than that of other cities, but it is more independent. Every man almost is the maker of his own fortune, and feels the importance which attaches to him.' Spectator, quoted in ibid. 25 May 1837.

as consisting of a variety of bodies, but centred in two large groups: a wealthier and more educated class, and the operatives. 'These classes do not stand divided from each other in castes; they fade insensibly into each other.' The wealthy and educated reformers had been much influenced by Smith and Millar. This had given a broader tone to their liberalism in contrast to that of Edinburgh. In the same way, the freer atmosphere of a mercantile city had been more conducive to original and independent thought.

The operatives, like those elsewhere, had turned to reform because of the continual recurrence of distress. They had however, been less influenced by Cobbett and other demagogues than operatives elsewhere in Britain. Thus though mutual jealousies often led to disunion between the classes, the Spectator had no doubts that the 'difference between them [the operatives] and the wealthy educated Reformers is in degree, not in kind'.(168)

This absence of a fundamental difference in analysis was to be one of the reasons why relations between the classes did not deteriorate to the extent they appear to have done in England. The insistence on the aristocracy as the 'enemy', helped to prevent any outright class hostility. Harrison and Hollis maintained that ' . . . whereas in the 1830s working-class consciousness sharpened itself on what was seen as the middle-class betrayal of 1832, during the 1840s working-class hatred became increasingly diverted towards an exploiting aristocracy. Hence the timid moves towards rapprochement between the middle and working classes in the early 1840s'.(169)

In Glasgow however, hostility to the aristocracy was not just the hallmark of the 1840s, it ran right through the period. This, rather than a feeling of betrayal by the middle classes was the essential part

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(168) Ibid.
(169) Harrison and Hollis, op.cit. p. 531.

of working-class thinking. Even when it was enunciated in strong terms, it was similar to middle-class analysis:

> Away with the pageantry of monarchy, and the assumption of aristocracy. Hurl the whole fabric of corruption to the devil along with the rascally crew, - the mitred and titled vagabonds, who live by usurpation and plunder on the public industry . . . . We will take monarchy, the hereditary aristocracy, and the Protestant Hierarchy - are these things consonant with liberty! Are we still to be the slaves that we have been? Are we to suffer ourselves longer to be taxed, and screwed, and jack-assed, till the very flesh is eaten off our bones, and the blood scorched out of our bodies? It is not this ministry or that ministry that is the cause. It is the system. The cursed hereditary system . . .(170)

Even when the working classes had become disillusioned with the lack of concrete benefits arising from the Reform Parliament, they did not rule out co-operation with the middle classes. Thus at the Durham demonstration, despite the strength of the language, the operatives still attended with the middle classes, still had the same hero, and the same ideals and still showed a high regard for commerce; while the middle classes for their part recognised the importance of the working classes: Graham 'an operative' took the chair.

While the working classes had become more conscious of themselves in every way - of their dignity, worth, importance - they still did not analyse questions purely in terms of themselves. Certainly Duncan in 1833 could say the government had betrayed the working classes, but the same man was willing to be aided by the middle classes; willing to nominate a man like Dixon, a great industrialist, for M.P. in 1836, and when he declined, supported George Mills son of the Lord Provost. His idea of what was needed for society was peace to ensure commercial prosperity, and he had ample respect for property. Therefore though there can be no doubt that the working classes had become more conscious of themselves as a group, this consciousness had resulted from feelings of hostility to the aristocracy rather than the middle classes.

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(170) Agitator, 9 Mar. 1833.

Along with this idea that the common enemy of society was the aristocracy, and this belief in the utility of the middle classes, went other ideas facilitating co-operation, such as a wish to work through the established system, and the pursuit of similar interests *viz.* liberalism (both here and on the continent), free trade, and security of property. Working-class demands were not revolutionary.

Tendencies towards co-operation were further aided by the fact that the middle classes were aware of the value of co-operation and tried to retain it. Active middle-class radicals such as William Weir knew that trades unions were a response to working men's feelings of exclusion, and were prepared to combat this by bringing the operatives within the pale of the constitution: 'The formation of unions among the operatives was the expression (perhaps in many cases the unconscious expression) of a sense that they were not represented . . .'(171)

Attitudes to trades unions were to be of crucial importance in this period. There can be no doubt that the press disliked unions. The Courier saw them as organisations which would destroy property, harm trade and ruin society.(172) The Chronicle, the Scots Times, the Glasgow Evening Post, the Scottish Guardian(173) and the Herald(174) saw them as sacrificing the public good for private advantage.

The Scots Times however, while no admirer of trades unions, was at least more reasoned in its approach. It saw the rise of unions as a natural response by working men to the Whig government's neglect

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(171) Weir, 5 Jan. 1837 at the dinner for Oswald, Argus, 9 Jan. 1837.
(172) Courier, 2 Feb., 15 Aug. (from Chronicle), 5 Oct., 14 Dec. 1833; 11 Jan., 6 Feb. etc. 1834.
(173) Chronicle e.g. quoted in Courier, 15 Aug. 1833; Scots Times, 17 Dec. 1833, see also 28 Sept., 8 Oct. 1833; Glasgow Evening Post, 14 Dec. 1833; Scottish Guardian e.g. 27 Sept. 1833.
(174) The Herald as usual did not appear to have any opinions of its own: it reprinted others e.g. Herald, 26 July, 27 Sept. 1833 from Scots Times; 16 Aug. 1833 from Chronicle; 7 Oct. 1833 from Courier.

of their interests since 1832. Seeing the main danger of unions as fostering a breach between the classes it called on the government to avert this by showing the working classes that reform was not an empty word: they should abolish the Corn Laws(175) and all commercial monopolies, and bring in triennial parliaments.(176)

The Argus took a similar view. It regarded the relationship between operatives and capitalists with 'deep anxiety', but saw no point in heaping abuse on trades unionists.(177) Lack of reform was the explanation for the growth of unions.(178) The only way to render these innocuous was to render them unnecessary by introducing reforms.

In contrast, the Courier was quick to lay any cases of, for example, assault at the hands of unionists. But even it gave credit where it was due: 'It is highly creditable to the masons, that, notwithstanding the strike in their trade, not one of them has been brought to the police office for disorderly conduct.'(179)

There seems no doubt that the possibility of disorder was taken seriously by the authorities: troops were called in during the calico printers' strike of 1834. Yet the Glasgow press failed to see the necessity of such a step.(180) And the Trades were quick to appreciate fair conduct on the part of the authorities or the masters. When a free pardon was granted to certain calico printers imprisoned for rioting at the print fields, the Liberator commented approvingly, 'We have no doubt this act of royal clemency, so worthy of a liberal

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(175) Herald, 16 Dec. 1833 maintained those promoting Corn Law repeal were encouraging unions.
(176) Scots Times, 10 Dec. 1833. Blackwood's Magazine also blamed the Whigs for the rise of unions, quoted in Courier, 6 Mar. 1834.
(177) Argus, 12 Dec. 1833; see also ibid. 8 July 1833.
(178) Ibid. 10 April 1833.
(179) Courier, 19 Dec. 1833.
(180) e.g. Herald, 7 Feb. 1834; Glasgow Evening Post, 8 Feb. 1834.

Government, will be duly appreciated by the trades.'(181) Nor did all strikes end in a victory for the masters: the masons in November 1833(182) won an increase; and the silk weavers in December 1833 did likewise.(183)

The main incident however which is usually cited as occasioning a hardening of attitudes is the Cotton Spinners Strike.(184) This was caused by the masters withdrawing a 15 per cent pay rise which they had granted in the autumn of 1836, coupling the mules and dismissing those unable to push linked carriages. As a result a smaller number of spinners had to hire the same number of piecers as before, without their wages being increased to cover this.

The strike began on 8 April 1837, and lasted till 4 August 1837 before the men were forced back on the employers' terms. The real trouble arose over the murder of a 'nob' (blackleg), John Smith, shot on 22 July 1837. Eighteen members of the Spinners Association were arrested. Then began a long period during which the date of the trial was continually deferred.

On 24 October 1837 the working classes held a meeting. No breach with the middle classes was yet evident: John Dennistoun M.P. had been asked to take the chair, but had declined because he could not agree with the object of the meeting, whereupon Mr. Purdie of Messrs. Brown and Purdie, a manufacturer, took the chair. Purdie considered the case involved the interests of all workmen and not just one class.

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(181) Liberator, quoted in Free Press, 19 Nov. 1834.
(182) Courier, 21 Nov. 1833. Argus, 21 Nov. 1833 pertinently asked why, if the masters were willing to meet the men's demands now, had they not done so before the strike?
(183) Courier, 10 Dec. 1833 (from the Liberator).
(184) A. Wilson in Briggs, Chartist Studies, p. 251; A. Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland (Manchester, 1970), pp. 36-40; ed. D. Thompson, The Early Chartists (London, 1971), p. 9; For a full account of the strike, see S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII.

Resolutions were passed calling on all working men to unite to protect their labour. Dr. J. Taylor talked of one law for the rich and one for the poor. A fund was to be set up to secure justice for the men. Thanks were given to the Lord Provost and Magistrates for the use of the Bazaar.(185) Glasgow working men therefore were shocked at the proceedings, but had still turned to the 'traditional' methods: enlist the aid of your M.P., or failing that, a representative of the middle classes.

On 9 November 1837 Augustus Beaumont(186) addressed the operatives in the Bazaar on the subject in highly emotive language: he had expected to find the streets barricaded. It seems however, such emotion held little appeal for the Glasgow working man for even the Courier was not alarmed.(187) On 27 November 1837 a meeting of the working classes was held to petition for an enquiry into the conduct of the law authorities concerning the trial (which by this time had been adjourned till 18 December 1837). The men voiced their determination to stand by the cause of union and the protection of labour: the whole object of the trial was seen as a means of crushing union among the working classes and placing them at the mercy of 'rapacious capitalists'. Several speakers condemned the proceedings of the law authorities. Resolutions were passed expressing astonishment and regret at the many delays. These were seen as attempts to wear out the sympathy of the cotton spinners' friends, create unnecessary expense and harass the accused into a conviction. An explanation of the crown's power to delay was sought, since this appeared unconsti-

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(185) Argus, 26 Oct. 1837.

(186) Augustus Hardin Beaumont, a noted radical. For a useful resume of his life see W. H. Maehl jr. 'Augustus Hardin Beaumont: Anglo-American Radical (1789-1838)' I.R.S.H., XIV (1969), pp.237-50; see also Appendix XXVIII.

(187) 'Poor man!- he knows little either of Scotland or Scotchmen, if he imagines the working-men of Glasgow are so foolish as to have recourse to physical force, while legal modes of obtaining redress of grievances are so ample, and of such easy access.' Courier, 11 Nov. 1837.

tutional and equal to a suspension of Habeas Corpus. Since no justice was being secured from the law, they were petitioning the Commons for an immediate trial, or liberation of the accused.

Once again Beaumont made a highly emotive speech: 'In demanding Universal Suffrage, he observed, that the people would not have a Government of the middle classes. Before that they would have the streets of the cities running with blood. If it was attempted to establish such a Government, they would have a fight for it; they would endeavour to cut the throats of those who would try such a thing.'(188) He referred to his hatred of the Whigs and praised the confrontation which had taken place at Bradford where, Power, the Poor Law Commissioner had received a beating; Beaumont thought he should have been hanged.

This speech contrasted with Taylor's, who, though he condemned the entire policy of the Whigs and the recent conduct of Lord John Russell in Parliament,(189) still saw the 'enemy' in terms of the aristocracy.(190) On 12 December 1837, W. Harvey presented a petition in Parliament from 20,000 inhabitants of Glasgow and vicinity complaining of the law authorities' conduct.(191)

Nevertheless the men were sentenced to seven years transportation. Press reaction to the sentence ranged from the Courier's suggestion that the penalties should have been harsher;(192) the Scottish Guardian's astonishment at the leniency(193) and wish for more moral and religious education;(194) to the Argus' happiness that the sentence had been so lenient.(195)

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(188) Argus, 30 Nov. 1837.
(189) This refers to his 'Finality Jack' speech when he declared the evolution of British political institutions was complete.
(190) Argus, 30 Nov. 1837.
(191) Courier, 16 Dec. 1837; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XXXIX, 12 Dec. 1837, col. 983.
(192) Courier, 13 Jan. 1838.
(193) Scottish Guardian, 15 Jan. 1838.
(194) Ibid. 25 Jan. 1838.
(195) Argus, 18 Jan. 1838.

On 22 January 1838 a meeting petitioned(196) for a commutation of the sentences since they claimed the cotton spinners were not guilty. Sheriff Alison had been asked by the Trades Committee to attend to justify his conduct in condemning unions, but he did not. Resolutions were passed defending unions, vindicating them from the charges levelled at them by those in authority; disclaiming all violence or intimidation and regretting the occurrence of such actions as had taken place.

A breach between the classes would now seem to be evident: Gillespie speaking on behalf of the union denounced Weir of the Argus. 'He was a great friend of the repeal of the corn-laws, but he was not a friend to combination.'(197) Campbell complained the government was a trades union with a secret, select committee with part of the funds in its possession. The Lords, the Commons, the Bar were all trades unions, all protected and allowed to protect themselves, only the working man was not.(198) The platform was said to be occupied solely by tradesmen.(199)

On 18 March 1839 another meeting was held to address the Queen for a remission of sentence. Not that the participants had much hope that anything would be done: it was merely another 'page of Whig injustice and tyranny'. Working men, since this was now the period of Chartism, put their faith in universal suffrage: Gillespie maintained this would remove abuses. Nevertheless, even now, the Glasgow operatives still displayed their customary reluctance to go to extremes. When Luttit maintained he would petition no more, or if he did, the next petition would be presented on the tip of a

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(196) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XL, 9 Feb. 1838, col. 931.
(197) Argus, 25 Jan. 1838.
(198) Scots Times, 27 Jan. 1838.
(199) Argus, 25 Jan. 1838.

sword, Gillespie immediately opposed the use of such language.(200) H. Dunn asked for as many signatures as possible to rouse the lethargic Whigs, from whom nothing beneficial for the working classes could be obtained, unless wrung from them by pressure from without.(201)

Similarly, at a Chartist demonstration on 21 May 1840, Halliday of Greenock maintained, ' . . . Glasgow, in particular, had felt the hand of Whig malice. There was the case of the cotton-spinners - the very men who had been foremost in the battle of Whig reform - they were now condemned to labour in chains, amidst felons, when their Whig rulers had no further use for them . . .(202)

There can be no doubt that the trial and sentence of the cotton spinners deepened Glasgow's hostility to the Whigs; what can be doubted is whether this caused a complete irreparable breach with middle-class radicals. For Glasgow working men by no means consistently equated the middle classes with the Whigs.(203) Nor was opinion about the cotton spinners rigidly determined. Even the operatives themselves appear to have had periods of doubt about the innocence of the accused: 'Three years ago these men stood very low in the estimation even of the operatives.'(204)

Furthermore, the official inquiry set up to inquire into combinations in 1838 again gave rise to the 'traditional' Glasgow reactions.

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(200) 'although some might think it necessary for keeping the agitation afloat. Government might be annihilated, if it could not be reformed, by a fearful bursting out of the repressed indignation of an enraged and ungovernable people; but God forbid that he should ever see anything of the kind. He hoped their rights would be gained and secured, but not by the torch, not by the dagger, not by the sword (approbation)! Chronicle, 25 Mar. 1839.

(201) ' . . . at no period since the French revolution did any set of men so deometrically (sic) oppose the working classes of this country as the present Ministry.' Ibid.

(202) Scottish Patriot, 23 May 1840.

(203) This point is dealt with more fully below, see Chap. V.

(204) Cullen, 12 Aug. 1840 at a meeting to welcome the cotton spinners back (they arrived in Glasgow in August 1840 after being pardoned). Scots Times, 19 Aug. 1840.

The operatives displayed moderation and rationality when putting their case to the Select Committee.(205) The press was uniformly glad such an enquiry was to take place:(206) the Chronicle for example, hoped it would be fair, and inquire equally into employers' associations, which it claimed were just as hostile to free trade as workmen's combinations.(207)

There was even a section of the press which still refused to be alarmed at combinations in general, and the cotton spinners in particular.

> Neither is there any serious danger from the outrages occasionally perpetrated by one or another Trades' Union. All violence is in its nature effervescent and short-lived . . . . We neither wish to under-rate the atrocity nor the mischievous character of the intentions indicated by certain outrages; but look back for twenty or thirty years, and see how miserably disproportionate what has been effected to what seems to have been wished.
>
> Upon these considerations we deprecate all special legislation against Trades' Unions! (208)

The tendency to outrage and prevarication - the article continued - was a result of the old Combination Laws. The privileged classes must also abandon their legalised trades unions. Unions resulted from want, or fear of want; their errors sprang from mistaken notions of the means most likely to avert or remove want. What was needed was the abolition of the Corn Laws and the spread of education.(209)

Such opinion could even see good in unions: they had first been formed from justifiable, praiseworthy motives, and had taught the operatives a practical lesson in thinking and acting for themselves - qualities which the working classes should not abandon.(210)

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(205) S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q. 2830-2.
(206) e.g. Herald, 19 Feb. 1838; Scots Times, 17 Feb. 1838; Argus, 22 Feb. 1838.
(207) Chronicle, 19 Feb. 1838.
(208) Argus, 22 Feb. 1838.
(209) Ibid. This was very similar to the view expressed by the London Trades Committee (whose secretary was William Lovett) on 19 Mar. 1838, ibid. 5 April 1838.
(210) Ibid. 15 Mar. 1838.

On the whole therefore the period still saw much co-operation between working and middle-class radicals. It was subjected to strains, especially when issues arose which, like trades unionism, involved relations of capitalists and operatives. There were signs of divergence in the more general political field in the emergence of more moderate Whiggish organisations and of more extreme radical associations with their smaller subscriptions, more extreme demands and more vehement rhetoric. Yet on the whole the practice of co-operation survived. There was still a set of common traditions and assumptions: the working classes accepted the symbols and values of middle-class respectability, being committed to the value system of the community. There was not the disillusion with municipal corporation reform as had occurred in England,(211) thanks to the different political system.

Even more important there was not the disillusion occasioned by the enactment of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Too much emphasis cannot be placed on this: the Twopenny Despatch of 10 September 1836 commented bitterly,

> Previously to the passing of the Reform Bill, the middle orders were supposed to have some community of feeling with the labourers. That delusion has passed away. It barely survived the Irish Coercion Bill, it vanished completely with the enactment of the Starvation Law. No working man will ever again expect justice, morals or mercy at the hands of a profit-mongering legislature.(212)

Time and time again this law was to be denounced by English Chartists; and it had provided a valuable fillip for the English factory movement. It was therefore of crucial importance that this most detested piece of legislation of the 1830s did not apply north of the border.

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(211) e.g. Thos. Cooper ' . . . how the scale has turned, since the greater share of boroughs where the poor and labouring classes threw up their hats at "municipal reform" - and now mutter discontent at the pride of upstarts become insolent oppressors - or openly curse, as in the poverty-stricken and hunger-bitten manufacturing districts, at the grinding tyrannies of the recreant middle classes whom municipal honours have drawn off from their hot-blooded radicalism, and converted into cold, unfeeling wielders of magisterial or other local power' quoted in ed. D. Thompson, op.cit. p. 8.

(212) Quoted in E. P. Thompson, op.cit. p. 904.

CHAPTER V

CHARTISM AND THE ANTI-CORN LAW MOVEMENT

I

Since the pressure of events in the years 1833-7 had seen the emergence of differences in the ranks of Glasgow radicals, it might have been expected that this process would have been further accentuated in the harsher climate of the years after 1837. It might that is, have been expected since there were now two distinct national agitations to appeal to the two discernible Glasgow strands: Chartism for the more radical, and the Anti-Corn Law movement for the more Whig. Indeed one of the favourite grounds for demonstrating a deterioration in relations between working and middle-class radicals has been to cite as examples Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law League,(1) since it has been held that 'Chartism is the expression of a common policy which unites the workers solidly against the middle classes.'(2) This was the period in which manifestations of the class war were thought to be particularly evident: 'The political class movement of the modern proletariat begins with Chartism.'(3) Events in Glasgow in this period however, hardly warrant so dramatic and clear-cut a description. There were occasions when class conflict could be detected, but the more pronounced theme was still class co-operation.

II

It has long been appreciated that Chartism in Glasgow was a strong viable movement(4) with antecedents reaching back to the period

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(1) For examples see below, Introduction, pp. 1-2.
(2) F. Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England trans. W. H. Chaloner and W. O. Henderson (Oxford, 1958), p. 258.
(3) Rothstein, op.cit. p. 7; see also G. D. H. Cole, A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement 1789-1947 (London, 1952), p. 109, 'The League was embryonic Liberalism, based on the collaboration of classes to get the best out of Capitalism; the Chartist Movement was embryonic Socialism, based on the class struggle, and hostile, above all, to the newly dominant middle-class industrialists.'
(4) See Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland; Wilson in ed. A. Briggs, Chartist Studies; L. C. Wright, Scottish Chartism (London, 1953); J. T. Ward, Chartism (London, 1973).

of the French Revolution. That the movement for Corn Law repeal was equally strong and had equally long antecedents has been less appreciated.(5) It is important therefore to realise that the movement for Corn Law repeal developed in the context of a public opinion about the Corn Laws which had long been growing. Agitation for repeal did not spring up suddenly in 1838. Opinion had been voiced with varying intensity against corn laws since the turn of the nineteenth century.

The Chamber of Commerce at the time of its proposed establishment in 1782 had been concerned with corn laws.(6) In 1787 it had expressed its wish for a free trade in grain.(7) In 1814 and 1815 petitions had been sent from Glasgow to Lord Archibald Hamilton, M.P. for Lanarkshire with more than 18,000 signatures against the Corn Laws. The press, as in Nottingham(8) and Birmingham(9) (including the Tory papers) was hostile to the Corn bill of 1815.(10) The Courier, 28 February 1815 giving voice to a 'commercial' viewpoint, maintained that Glasgow was unanimously opposed to the bill, and cited David Hume to prove that industry migrated when handicapped by food prices and therefore by high wages. It contributed to this opposition

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(5) A notable exception being K. J. Cameron, Anti-Corn Law Agitations in Scotland with particular reference to the Anti-Corn Law League. Edin. Ph.D. thesis 1971 unpublished.

(6) ' . . . to consider all matters respecting the corn-laws in this part of the united kingdom, for the purpose of supporting the industrious poor . . .' Hamilton, op.cit. p. 39

(7) 'As the very existence of our manufactures rests upon cheap labour, we hope the same liberal system will be extended to a general free trade in grain, which, besides increasing the navigation of this country, will secure to our labourers, a steady and plentiful supply of the great necessity of life.' Ibid. p. 45.

(8) D. Fraser, 'Nottingham and the Corn Laws' Thoroton Soc., LXX (1966), pp. 81-104.

(9) D. Fraser, 'Birmingham and the Corn Laws' Trans. of Birm. Arch. Soc., LXXXII (1967), pp. 1-20.

(10) This act allowed foreign corn to be imported or taken out of bond, free of duty, only when the price of British wheat reached £4 a quarter.

itself by publishing notice of all the future protest meetings, as well as the resolutions of the meetings which had already taken place.(11) Action, however, did not stop at protest meetings: in 1815 a mob stoned Kirkman Finlay's(12) house in anger at his volte-face on the Corn bill, causing six troops of dragoons to be sent from Hamilton to control the situation.

All the components therefore, of later agitation were well in evidence long before 1830 let alone 1838-9: petitions, press opinion, public meetings. Then, as with later agitation, in particular that of the years 1836-8, there was a tendency to link Corn Law repeal with the defects in the representative system: a public meeting held in Glasgow on 12 April 1815 had come to the conclusion that since the Corn bill (a measure so obviously, to them, not in the people's interests) had been passed 'the representation of the people in parliament is radically defective'.(13)

Till the establishment of the Association for repeal in 1833 however, agitation was confined to unco-ordinated petitioning and press statements. What is interesting about the activity of this period is the broad social spectrum which it covered. The operatives' interest in free trade matched that of the Chamber of Commerce: the Unstamped contained many appeals for abolition, and the Declaration of the Trades issued in the 1832 election also favoured repeal.

Hostility to the Corn Laws then, was not confined to one particular section of the community; and it was widely assumed parliamentary reform would bring some sort of amelioration: once the people had representatives they could control, the Corn Laws would be abolished.(14)

When it became obvious that the first Reformed House was not going to give priority to this issue, the press again called for action

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(11) Cowan, op.cit. p. 32.
(12) M.P. for Glasgow Burghs at this time.
(13) Resolution passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the City of Glasgow 12 April 1815. Scot. Corr. R.H. 2/4/106 quoted in Cameron, op.cit. p. 58.
(14) Free Press, 6 June 1832.

in the shape of associations, petitions, and meetings.(15) Foremost among the press was the Argus under the editorship of William Weir who was to become Glasgow's most prominent repealer. Impetus was given to the movement when Edinburgh formed a Mechanics Anti-Corn Law Association on 20 November 1833, with a membership fee of 3d. (1p) and 1d. (½p) for every public meeting attended. The Argus' civic pride was outraged,(16) and was only assuaged by the formation of the Glasgow Association on 19 December 1833.

The Glasgow Association decreed that there should be a free trade in corn. Its members, in contrast to Edinburgh's, were largely men of substance. Its first committee consisted of John Fleming, Walter Buchanan, Charles Tennant, Alexander Dennistoun, James Wallace, Colin Dunlop, William Dunlop, William Weir, Hugh Smith, William Bankier, John Whitehead and William Gray. In terms of occupation, they consisted of eight merchants, one jeweller, one advocate, and two who have not been traced. At least nine held the franchise.(17) Of these eight (Buchanan, C. Dunlop, Fleming, Gray, Tennant, Smith, Bankier, Whitehead) had voted for Oswald and Crawfurd in 1832. Wallace had voted for Sandford and Oswald.(18) Ten had, or were to have, affiliations with the Reform Association. Only Wallace was a member of both the Political Union and the Reform Association. All were active in middle-class radical causes, and Alexander Dennistoun and Colin Dunlop were to become M.Ps. Only Wallace therefore, had some pretensions towards the more 'popular' radicalism. Again, in contrast to Edinburgh, Colin Dunlop proposed the entry fee should be £1. Peter Mackenzie however, maintained that this was too high, and asked for 5/- (25p) whereupon a compromise was reached via C. J. Tennant proposing the entry fee should be any sum between 5/- (25p) and £1.(19)

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(15) Argus, 21 Oct., 21 Nov. etc. 1833.
(16) Ibid. 25 Nov. 1833.
(17) Nine names have been traced in the Poll book for 1832, the other three may have held the franchise and not voted in 1832.
(18) 1832 Poll book.
(19) Argus, 19 Dec. 1833.

This question of the social exclusiveness of the Association arose once more at the meeting of 14 February 1834 when James Moir, later a prominent Chartist, proposed that the entry fee be lowered from 5/- (25p) to 1/- (5p). He was opposed by Dunlop and others on the technicality that they could not alter a decision come to at a public meeting, without prior notice. Moir insisted that such a reduction was necessary if the Association was to grow, and tabled a motion to that effect.(20) The Association thus displayed a middle-class exclusiveness and consciousness. This can also be detected in its anxiety to ensure that repeal of the Corn Laws should be its sole concern: parliamentary reform was not to be mixed up with it. Hence, when at the public meeting of 22 February 1834, Allan Fullarton (a member of the Reform Association) denounced the inadequacy of the Reform Bill and emphasised the need for the ballot, the Lord Provost and others ruled him out of order.(21)

Nevertheless, though the Association might seem to be hesitant about including operatives in its ranks, there was no doubt that it was both aware of, and wanted the operatives' support. Now, as later, it wanted to create as impressive an agitation as possible: the Merchants and Trades Houses were exhorted to meet and express their opinions; and it was trusted 'that the operatives would, as they were wont to do, exhibit their zeal, and have a large public meeting of their own in favour of cheap bread. (Cheers) All these exhibitions would show that though Glasgow remained silent on this vital subject during the first session of the Reformed Parliament, that she might see how the representatives of the people would act, they were now determined to approach the House from session to session till the iniquitous Corn Laws were expunged from the statute-book. (Cheers)'.(22)

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(20) Ibid. 17 Feb. 1834. A meeting held on 1 April 1834, in Moir's absence accepted the reduction to 1/- (5p) and Moir was also added to the committee. Ibid. 3 April 1834.

(21) Ibid. 24 Feb. 1834.

(22) Davidson at public meeting on the Corn Laws, 19 Feb. 1834. Ibid. 20 Feb. 1834.

Repeal of the Corn Laws therefore was canvassed in terms of the whole community. Nor was this merely a feature of mercantile thinking: the Political Union had also petitioned on this issue.(23) Similarly hand-loom weavers expressed their eagerness for Corn Law repeal, though they were sceptical of its chances of success.(24) In line with this body of opinion favourable to repeal, the Association saw its task as educating, informing and propagating the right views on the Corn Laws. It corresponded with the Central Anti-Corn Law Society in London. It made arrangements with 'Rutherglen and Paterson', booksellers, for a regular supply of works on the Corn Laws, with which opinion in the agricultural districts was to be converted.(25) It ordered large supplies of the Corn Law Magazine, and Earl Fitzwilliam's pamphlet Address to the Landowners of Great Britain. All of which won the approval of the Argus, which was exhorting the public to back up the efforts of the Association.(26)

The public responded. Monster petitions were signed: 60,000 subscribed to the 1834 petition. James Oswald when presenting this, emphasised Glasgow's determination to have repeal: 'Whatever difference of opinion respecting the Corn-Laws there might be in other parts of the kingdom, there did not exist a more general and determined opposition to them anywhere than in the city of Glasgow - a city in which education was more generally diffused than in almost any other part.'(27) New Anti-Corn Law Societies were set up such as the one at Anderston on 2 September 1834.(28) This sent a free

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(23) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 1 June 1833, 29 Mar. 1834.
(24) e.g. T. Malloch would like repeal but ' . . . the more intelligent part, most of them /the hand-loom weavers/ have given up the thought of that from the conviction that the corn laws will not be repealed till the agriculturists can find an equivalent.' S. C. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions, P.P., 1834, (556) X, Q. 2708.
(25) The Argus, 17 Feb. 1834 was convinced that only by including the support of farmers and farm labourers, could their object be successful.
(26) Ibid.
(27) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XXI, 6 Mar. 1834, col. 1195.
(28) Argus, 4 Sept. 1834.

trade petition to Dunlop on 9 February 1835.(29) Corn Law repeal was also highlighted by the press in the election of 1835. Candidates were to pledge themselves in favour of it.(30) Dunlop's work in the Anti-Corn Law Association was used as a recommendation of his suitability to be an M.P.(31) A great free trade banquet was held on 20 January 1835.(32) And the Political Union again called for repeal in its address presented to Daniel O'Connell in September 1835.(33)

On 28 August 1835 another association was organised in the suburbs of Cowcaddens, Blackquarry and Springburn to co-operate with the Glasgow Anti-Corn Law Association in promoting petitions. This meeting of 28 August 1837 was composed chiefly of operatives, though an element of class co-operation was there, in the shape of Bailie William Craig who had maintained that people, and not land, should have the right of being represented. If this were the case, then the Corn Laws would soon be repealed. There was also an element of class consciousness: McGavany, a hand-loom weaver, stated that labour was the source of all value. But at the same time he reflected the 'traditional' concern with improvement and self-help: high bread prices meant they had to work longer hours, and this deprived them of time 'for relaxation, for education purposes, and for the general improvement of their minds'.

Class co-operation however was still the overriding concern, showing once again that Corn Law repeal was not thought of as an exclusive middle-class issue. Matthew Cullen, another who was to become prominent as a Chartist pointed out the 'absolute necessity of all classes of the community uniting in demanding the abolition of the Corn Laws'. He wanted associations to be formed in every district and all to petition simultaneously: 'He called not only upon the labouring classes,

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(29) Ibid. 12 Feb. 1835.
(30) Scots Times, 9 Dec. 1834.
(31) Argus, 5 Jan. 1835.
(32) Ibid. 22 Jan. 1835.
(33) Loyal Reformers' Gazette, 26 Sept. 1835.

but upon all classes, to join in the effort. Shopkeepers, teachers, and surgeons, as persons who had frequent opportunities of witnessing the distress of the operative part of the population, ought to join in promoting the cause in which they were engaged.'(34)

This was merely a reiteration of the position taken by Dr. Taylor at the great Working-Class Meeting of 14 June 1837.(35) In Glasgow in 1837 therefore, radical working-class opinion favoured Corn Law repeal and saw it as an integral part of its programme.(36) There was as yet no conflict in its eyes between the agitation for organic constitutional reform and that against the Corn Laws. Nor was this one-sided: the Gorbals association resulted from a meeting on behalf of the ballot and against the Corn Laws.(37) The Glasgow Association willingly admitted a delegate from the Bridgeton Radical Association, and was ready to do so from any other organisation which included repeal in its programme.(38)

Such was to be the character of the agitation throughout 1838. Meetings were held by the various associations at which the Corn Laws were condemned in terms of their detrimental effect on the community as a whole: all class legislation was abhorred.(39) It was a reasoned, articulate appeal designed to attract all interests: 'as the price of agricultural produce is increased, the wages of manufacturing industry are depressed, and the profits of capital lowered.'(40)

There was as yet, no one organisation dictating a course of policy. Each individual association was largely autonomous thus

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(34) Matthew Cullen, 28 Aug. 1837, Argus, 31 Aug. 1837.
(35) See above Chap. IV.
(36) It had been one of the objects of the Partick Reform Association, 20 Feb. 1837; the operative masons, 19 Feb. 1836 had also called for repeal.
(37) Argus, 11 Dec. 1837.
(38) Ibid. 19 July 1838. The Association wished to correspond with any such organisation.
(39) Davidson, Abolition of Corn Laws meeting 20 Feb. 1838, Scots Times, 24 Feb. 1838.
(40) From the petition adopted at a meeting in Anderston 20 Feb. 1838. Ibid. 21 Feb. 1838.

the Bridgeton Association published its own address and divided the area into districts, each of which was to be the responsibility of a member of the association's committee, who would utilise it for canvassing.(41) The (Glasgow) Central Association took the view that each local association was best qualified to draw up regulations adapted to its own particular case, and only claimed the right of fixing a quota to be contributed for expenses.(42)

The Central Association then, was a co-ordinating body, a source of information and advice on agitation. It received reports from local associations. Its members appeared at local association meetings(43) - a similar 'missionary' activity to that of the Chartists. The Central Association wrote to Hume asking for an accurate list of M.Ps. who had voted on Villiers' motion against the Corn Laws, so that they could circulate it to every association to ensure that the people would know who to trust.(44) It requested the liberal papers to highlight a lecture to be given by the Rev. Alexander Harvey to the Working Men's Association in Glasgow on 14 June 1838.(45) It toyed with the idea of 'missionaries' traversing the countryside and spreading information, but a lack of money and interest doomed this to failure.(46) Its members also made their voices heard in such places as the Town Council where Johnston proposed a petition for a gradual reduction of the Corn Laws.(47) And of course it forwarded petitions.(48)

Therefore though Weir might feel in December 1838 that Glasgow had been 'napping',(49) it had been remarkably active as compared with Manchester or Birmingham. It has been claimed that 'Birmingham had

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(41) Argus, 1 Jan., 1 Feb. 1838.
(42) Ibid. 15 Jan. 1838.
(43) Ibid.
(44) Scots Times, 24 Feb. 1838.
(45) Argus, 7 June 1838.
(46) Ibid. 9 April, 7 June, 9 July, 2 Aug. 1838.
(47) Scots Times, 28 July 1838.
(48) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XLIII, 2 July 1839, col. 1170.
(49) League Letter Book, Vol. 1, No. 2, Weir to Prentice 24 Dec. 1838.

taken considerable interest in the repeal of the corn laws, . . .' between 1833 and 1837; but this claim rests on a mere two meetings.(50) As for Manchester it was apparently undergoing a '"seven years' sleep" on this issue'.(51)

Glasgow by contrast, had kept interest alive in the question and had endeavoured to see information was disseminated over as large an audience as possible: 'Let brave and enlightened Glasgow speak again to timid and besotted Liverpool.'(52) The Anti-Corn Law movement had had to contend with the more exciting emotional appeal of Chartism, and unlike the Chartists had not enjoyed visits from national figures to act as fillips. The Anti-Corn Law movement however, was aided by the absence in Glasgow of any clear-cut party for either repeal or suffrage extension. Differences among Glasgow radicals were more a matter of the emphasis and priority which they accorded to either ingredient of their radicalism.

This can be illustrated by Weir's observations on parliamentary reform. He argued that the agitation for repeal would either be successful, or would show how inadequate the 'Reform Parliament' was for obtaining justice, and this would cause a sufficient number of the enfranchised to unite with the unenfranchised to force suffrage extension. Suffrage extension would only be peacefully obtained once the public had become aware of the condition of the lower classes.(53) To Weir, repeal was a more certain way of ensuring further parliamentary reform, since by the 'domino theory,' one monopoly tended to support another, and one destroyed would destroy another.(54)

This period of agitation had once again emphasised what was the

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(50) Fraser, 'Birmingham and the Corn Laws' pp. 6, 7.
(51) Ibid.
(52) 'An Address to the People of England on the Corn Laws. By the author of "Corn Law Rhymes"', Tait's Edin. Mag.;N.S. Vol. I ; May 1834;p. 231.
(53) Argus, 6 Aug. 1838.
(54) Ibid. 10 Sept. 1838.

norm for political relations in Glasgow - class co-operation rather than class conflict; moderation, rationality and self-improvement. Active Corn Law repealers had included men with a reputation for extreme radicalism, who were later to become prominent in the Chartist cause: Dr. Taylor, variously described as 'a cross between Byron's Corsair, and a gypsy king, with a lava-like eloquence that set on fire all combustible matter in its path',(55) or, in the Home Office view, 'as mischievous a man as any in the kingdom',(56) was appointed a delegate by Hamilton Anti-Corn Law Association;(57) he had also along with Weir been a member of the committee of the London Anti-Corn Law Association.(58) John Rodger treasurer of the Bridgeton Anti-Corn Law Association had been active there;(59) he had also taken the chair at a Central Anti-Corn Law Association meeting.(60) Matthew Cullen had similarly been active. That such men had once been repealers lessened the chance that outright hostility would ensue between the two movements.

It is true nevertheless that the co-operation which had marked the early Chartist period did not continue unbroken. Relations between radicals did become more strained and divergent. Divergency first appeared at the meeting of 29 December 1837. This had been called to petition for an extension of the suffrage and the ballot. Members of both the middle and working classes were present. Middle-class representatives maintained that the Reform Bill had failed and pointed out the propriety of class co-operation - in other words, the usual statements were being made.

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(55) By G. J. Harney in the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle, supplement 5 Jan. 1889 quoted in A. R. Schoyen, The Chartist Challenge (London, 1958), p. 45.
(56) Ibid. p. 92.
(57) Argus, 15 Jan. 1838.
(58) Ibid. 26 Dec. 1836.
(59) Ibid. 8 Feb., 22 Mar. 1838.
(60) Scots Times, 24 Feb. 1838.

The split was occasioned by Bailie Johnston's claim that reform strength had fallen off in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire and Stirlingshire because of open voting. Dr. Taylor strongly disagreed with this analysis, and stated what was to become one of the classic charges of the Chartists: the futility of supporting the Whigs, since nothing was to be gained from them: 'In the county of Ayr the electors would not come forward and vote, and the reason was, that they were willing to support the Ministry as long as they had any prospect of gaining anything from them; but what the better, they said, have we been for doing so, and we will do it no longer.'(61) As an amendment Taylor moved that they should petition for universal suffrage and the ballot. This was passed by a large majority. Some however, could not believe this, and called for a second vote which resulted in an even greater majority in favour of universal suffrage. Davidson now commented that the matter had been taken out of the hands of those who had called the meeting.(62)

Both groups seemed to be taken by surprise by this development. There were no premeditated plans for further action.(63) Despite the near revolutionary cries about civil war, made by such firebrands as Beaumont and O'Connor, (on 4 January 1838 at a meeting of the operatives, to consider among other matters, the Canadian business,) Glasgow political life tended to continue much as before. The Glasgow operative was still concerned with betrayal by the Whigs, economy in government, and thanking the Lord Provost for his help in allowing the meeting;(63) while even the cautious Reform Association had decided some further reform was necessary.(65)

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(61) Dr. J. Taylor, meeting 29 Dec. 1837, Scots Times, 3 Jan. 1838.
(62) Davidson, ibid.
(63) 'The Radicals, . . . had been surprised on that occasion at their own victory, and were quite unprepared to follow it up. The opposite party, who had been formerly so much indulged by the kindness and forbearance of the Radicals, had become sulky under defeat, and refused to take any part in carrying into effect the resolution agreed to by the meeting.' Purdie, meeting in the Bazaar, 4 Jan. 1838, ibid. 6 Jan. 1838.
(64) Meeting to consider Canadian business 4 Jan. 1838, ibid.
(65) Ibid. 10 Feb. 1838.

Even in the meeting with the Birmingham Deputation held on 10 April 1838, which marks the official beginnings of Chartism in Glasgow, class co-operation was apparent, both in the speakers at the meeting, who included Bailie Craig and Turner of Thrushgrove, and in the committee chosen. Of the eight names highlighted by the Argus,(66) six had possessed the franchise in 1832, and voted as follows: four for Douglas, two for Crawfurd, five for Sandford and one for Oswald.(67) Their voting behaviour therefore, was considerably less 'establishment' than that of the committee of the Anti-Corn Law Association. Seven had been active in the Political Union, and five had also had connections with the Reform Association. In terms of occupation they consisted of two tea dealers, two manufacturers, one brewer, two of independent means and one doctor. All had been active in radical causes - Wallace being also a committee member of the Anti-Corn Law Association. Though of lower social standing than the committee of the Anti-Corn Law Association, they were certainly not of proletarian stock, and this was to show in the conclusions they reached.

For, while Moir (himself a tea-dealer) could make class conscious statements: 'He was convinced, . . . that the working classes had much in their own power, and that, if they wanted, they could accomplish much of themselves',(68) others such as Turner desired a revival of the Political Union: 'He held in his hand a list of its former members, amounting to 12,000. Could not 12,000 again enrol themselves in the same cause?'(69)

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(66) This is the only report that gives the committee, and it does not mention them all. The committee consisted of Turner of Thrushgrove, Ure of Croy, Wallace, Moir, Purdie, Dr. Walker, Hedderwick, Birkmyre etc. Argus, 12 April 1838.

(67) Poll book.

(68) Moir, 10 April 1838, Argus, 12 April 1838. Throughout the period Moir was to be one of those who more consistently uttered class conscious statements.

(69) Turner, ibid.

A wish to return to the spirit of co-operation and unity which had characterised the Reform Bill agitation can be seen in the meetings of the next few months. The Whigs were constantly being denounced for not coming forward and asserting the rights of the people: this was an ungrateful return for the aid they had been given in passing the Reform Bill.(70)

The Grand Radical Demonstration of 21 May 1838 provided evidence of a growing sense of frustration: 'Lord Melbourne and his organs, the Whig Press had cried patience, patience, and every measure of reform would be conceded; their patience, however had been exhausted by years of waiting, and they were only at this moment as far forward as when the Tories were in office.'(71) But though more of the participants at this Demonstration were certainly drawn from the artisan class than at any of the previous meetings - approximately half the speakers did not have the vote - no new demands were made by the Glasgow speakers.

For while the Birmingham Delegation may have come to the conclusion that Corn Law repeal should be subordinated to the suffrage question, it was by no means certain that Glasgow had. Indeed the Corn Laws were still a part of the radicals' programme: flags displayed such inscriptions as 'From Corn Laws and Election Bribery, O Lord Deliver Us'; 'Men's Food should not be Taxed - we ask no concession - we demand our Rights'; 'Free Trade in Corn'; 'A free trade in corn, let the millions loud thunder - An end to the faction whose objectiis plunder'.(72) This was the kind of demand and the kind of language that had characterised classic radicalism. Even Moir was to ask 'How long were they to groan under the oppression of the Corn Laws?'(73) Any want of harmony between masters and men was

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(70) C. Mackay, meeting in Bridgeton, 23 April 1838, Scots Times, 28 April 1838.
(71) Moir, Glasgow Radical Demonstration 21 May 1838, ibid. 23 May 1838.
(72) Glasgow Radical Demonstration, ibid.
(73) Moir, at above, Argus, 24 May 1838.

regretted,(74) and the press called for the middle and working classes to unite.(75)

Moreover, when there was a possibility of a by-election,(76) it was noteworthy that the operatives chose(77) as a prospective candidate, the well known philosophical radical, John Arthur Roebuck,(78) a man who not only had very definite ideas on the working classes,(79) but also whose political creed was certainly not extreme. It consisted of a lack of party connection, a support for suffrage extension, the ballot and shorter parliaments - 'These are the essential creed - the symbol of liberalism'.(80) He had been the unflinching advocate of the Canadians and the friend of civil and religious liberty:(81) qualities which would find a ready response among radicals. And when he came to Glasgow, in contrast to Beaumont, O'Connor and Attwood, he addressed the Working Men's Association on the subject of Colonial Legislation, gave an address on general politics and talked of repeal of the Corn Laws.(82) He was certainly no outright revolu-

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(74) Purdie, at above, Scots Times, 23 May 1838.
(75) e.g. Chronicle, 21 May 1838.
(76) There had been a rumour that Bentinck was about to be elevated to the peerage, though this proved to be unfounded. Scots Times, 16 June 1838.
(77) A meeting of trades delegates wrote to Roebuck via Col. Thompson and Sharman Crawford on 5 June 1838. They still thought in terms of co-operation: a committee of electors was to unite with the Universal Suffrage committee, whose secretary was also to write to the Reform Association to request a meeting and a conference. Ibid. 9, 13 June 1838.
(78) Roebuck also enjoyed the support of operatives elsewhere. In Bath in the 1841 General Election, the artisans in general and the shoemakers in particular overwhelmingly supported him. R. S. Neale, Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1972), pp. 10, 51, 53.
(79) 'My object has been through life to make the working man as exalted and civilized a creature as I could make him. I wanted to place before his mind a picture of civilized life such as I see in my own life . . . my household has been a civilized household. It has been a household in which thought, high and elevated ideas of literature, and grace and beauty, have always found everything that would recommend them . . . I wanted to make the working man like me.' R. E. Leader, Autobiography of Rt. Hon. J. A. Roebuck (London, 1897), p. 325 quoted in Neale, V.S., XII (1968-9), p. 20.
(80) Roebuck, 18 June 1838, Scots Times, 23 June 1838.
(81) R. McGavin, meeting 22 June 1838, ibid. 27 June 1838.
(82) Ibid. 30 June 1838.

tionary and such moderation caused Dr. Smeal to hope that the Whigs and radicals would again co-operate, since the Whigs wanted the ballot, triennial parliaments and household suffrage.(83)

There were signs of more extremism and divergence though: Taylor at a meeting for the extension of the suffrage held on 23 July 1838, and attended by O'Connor, contended that if revolution had been a good thing in 1688, then he did not see how it could be a bad thing in 1838;(84) and there was dissent over the relative priorities of universal suffrage and Corn Law repeal.

This can be seen at a meeting held to establish a regularly defined Universal Suffrage Association on 3 September 1838. When Hedderwick saw the Corn Laws as the cause of oppression, Moir quickly disagreed. He deplored any suggestion that attention should be chiefly directed to the Corn Laws, since once universal suffrage was obtained the repeal of the Corn Laws would follow automatically. He also maintained that the Reform Bill had only been secured by using terror, and terror was again necessary. Burn agreed with this, while McGowan, a teacher, thought they should concentrate on one point at a time.(85)

It is important to note that though Corn Law agitation was causing trouble, as yet no definite decision had been made on this issue. It was still part and parcel of radicalism. Glasgow working men were not hostile to the abolition of the Corn Laws as such, though some of them felt, as did others elsewhere, that political reform should have priority.

The principles of the Glasgow Universal Suffrage Association(86) reaffirmed their belief in the dignity and worth of men: all men by

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(83) Dr. Smeal, meeting 22 June 1838, ibid. 27 June 1838.
(84) Argus, 26 July 1838.
(85) Meeting 3 Sept. 1838, Scots Times, 5 Sept. 1838.
(86) Hereinafter referred to as 'G. U. S. A.'.

nature were equal in respect to civil and religious rights, and civil distinctions should be founded on public utility alone. There were demands for no taxation without representation, the ballot, paid M.Ps. and annual parliaments.(87) Indeed there was nothing new in this radicalism, as the 'Address of the Radicals of Glasgow and Neighbourhood' showed. All the old trials, tribulations and enemies were there: the Irish coercion bill, the Canadian suspension bill, and the inadequacy of the Reform Bill (no mention was made of the cotton spinners trial).(88) The 'enemy' was still the aristocracy.(89)

By the end of 1838 then, the Chartists had an association which held regular monthly meetings. Though critical references about the middle classes were creeping into their analysis,(90) this was still largely conducted in terms of the 'enemy' being the aristocracy.(91) They had played their part in the national movement. They had sent deputies to the 'Grand Meeting of the Working Classes' at Birmingham on 6 August 1838.(92) They had approved of the objects of the 'Grand Metropolitan Meeting of the Working Classes' in London on 17 September 1838 though being too busy preparing for their own demonstration to send delegates.(93) They had also played a part in local politics favouring the denial of support to any who were not in favour of universal suffrage.(94) Nor had they neglected the areas surrounding Glasgow having sent delegates to these places regularly.(95)

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(87) Principles and Regulations of the G.U.S.A., Scots Times, 5 Sept. 1838.
(88) See above Chap. IV.
(89) G.U.S.A. meeting 9 Oct. 1838, Scots Times, 13 Oct. 1838.
(90) 'Their interests had not been looked to, in almost any instance by men in power, and what was worse, they were despised by the upper and middle classes'. Tait of Auchinearn, G.U.S.A., 11 Dec. 1838, ibid. 15 Dec. 1838.
(91) G.U.S.A., 13 Nov. 1838, ibid. 17 Nov. 1838.
(92) Purdie and Moir were the delegates, ibid. 15 Aug. 1838.
(93) Ibid. 23 Sept. 1838.
(94) G.U.S.A. 9 Oct. 1838, ibid. 13 Oct. 1838.
(95) e.g. R. McGavin, Purdie and Moir at Hamilton, ibid. 29 Sept. 1838.

They had not yet evolved any consistent policy towards Corn Law agitation. For the Chartists this had been a period of feeling their way, during which they had not been cut off from other radicals.

When however the Anti-Corn Law Association reconstituted itself on 8 January 1839, it became necessary for each organisation again to attempt to define its position with respect to the other. The new Anti-Corn Law Association dedicated itself to free trade in general, with repeal of the Corn Laws as its great object. Of the most prominent members of the interim committee,(96) only William Weir remained from the former organisation. Craig, Johnston and Murray had radical backgrounds: Craig had often been found on working-class platforms urging class co-operation.(97) It was evident that this new association wished to have a wider appeal since entry money was fixed at 1/- (5p)(98) and even those aged under 21 could be members.(99)

Nevertheless such a policy of involving operatives in the actual association as distinct from the agitation was more apparent than real. At the Anti-Corn Law Association meeting of 4 March 1839, Robert Currie, a Chartist, complained 'that under existing circumstances, he did not consider that the Association were acting right, in attempting to go on in their agitation without the aid of the working classes'. Gillespie, another Chartist, was of the same opinion - everyone favoured repeal and only differed as to the means for securing this: 'The whole community were interested, and should be consulted on the subject. It was not right that a few persons only, who might form an Association for that purpose, but the whole bulk of the people.'(100) (sic) At its very first meeting on 8 January 1839, the Anti-Corn Law Association

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(96) A. Johnston, Shieldhall, chairman; J. Mitchell, W. Craig, J. Dunlop, vice chairmen; A. Hastie, treasurer; W. Weir, D. Murray, joint secretaries.
(97) e.g. meeting with operative masons 9 Dec. 1836; Radical Reform meeting 10 April 1838.
(98) Meeting 8 Jan. 1839, Scots Times, 9 Jan. 1839.
(99) Meeting 18 Jan. 1839, ibid. 23 Jan. 1839.
(100) Ibid. 6 Mar. 1839.

had turned down a proposal from the G.U.S.A. for a coalition since '. . . . it could not coalesce with societies having other objects'.(101)

It was now apparent that two different organisations did exist. Yet though the organisations might be separate, the attitudes of their members were by no means so rigidly fixed. Each 'camp' was always at pains to emphasise its realisation of the necessity of the other's measure but always wished the other to come over to its point of view. There was therefore never a consistent, unanimous policy regarding either co-operation, outright hostility, or simply ignoring the other's existence: each organisation wished to use the other, without subordinating its objects to the other. Thus at the meeting of 4 March 1839, Walter Buchanan admitted he did not see any incompatibility between the two objects, but the meeting had been called for a specific object and the question of the extension of the suffrage could not be entertained: 'They were met to do all they could for a repeal of the Corn-Laws, and wanted the assistance of all classes, and if a public meeting was called for an extension of the suffrage, he would certainly attend it, but he protested against that meeting mixing it up with the present discussion', and he refused to adjourn the meeting till an hour when the working classes could attend.(102)

The Repealers wished to promote class co-operation, but only on their own terms. Thus they maintained, 'There were no separate interests among them - the interests of all were the same, and there ought to be a common understanding among all classes of the people advocating the same thing, though in different ways, not to interfere with one another.'(103) Nevertheless, while they agreed that 'repeal could only be obtained by the complete union of all classes',(104) they were not prepared to countenance evening meetings to ensure it.(105) Weir

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(101) Ibid. 9 Jan. 1839.
(102) Walter Buchanan, 4 Mar. 1839, ibid. 6 March 1839.
(103) W. Craig, Anti-Corn Law Society 3 April 1839, ibid. 6 April 1839.
(104) Fleming of Claremont, ibid.
(105) Ibid.

however, was prepared to work for some measure of parliamentary reform: Glasgow delegates should take standing instructions to make the Manchester League extend their platform to embrace free trade and take steps 'to promote a Radical Reform of our Legislature, miscalled national, and to throw themselves fearlessly and frankly into any national movement'.(106)

A similar situation existed amongst the Chartists. True, Moir's appointment as delegate to the National Convention resulted from his unequivocal support for universal suffrage as against Corn Law repeal.(107) But other Chartists favoured joining the Corn Law agitation,(108) while some were against having anything to do with Corn Law repeal, since the Corn Laws were only 'one of the many evils that grind down the working classes, and that nothing but Universal Suffrage will remedy all the people's grievances'.(109)

Nor was this confusion over tactics limited to different sections of the Chartist following: the leaders themselves were not free from it. Thus John Rodger, who on 15 January 1839 advised having nothing to do with Corn Law repeal,(110) by 5 March 1839 was of the opinion ' . . . they should do nothing to irritate their feelings, as their intentions were the same, and those agitating that subject might come to see that the Chartists were right after all. They should, however, give no quarter if attacked'.(111) Moir himself was to favour this policy of neutrality for a time in the hope that it would ensure eventual middle-class co-operation: 'To join in it is of course out of the question; to oppose it might give rise to feelings calculated to prevent the middle classes from joining their movement.'(112)

During this phase when the Chartists did intervene in repeal meetings, they waited till the discussion period. 'Intervention' in

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(106) Weir, ibid.
(107) G.U.S.A. 2 Jan. 1839, ibid. 5 Jan. 1839.
(108) e.g. Grant, 31 Jan. 1839, Chronicle, 1 Feb. 1839.
(109) J. Lang, G.U.S.A. 19 Feb. 1839, Scots Times, 20 Feb. 1839.
(110) Chronicle, 16 Jan. 1839.
(111) Scots Times, 9 Mar. 1839.
(112) Moir, 12 Feb. 1839, ibid. 13 Feb. 1839.

fact took place in a spirit of rationality and almost friendliness: as the Scots Times remarked, the Chartists behaved with moderation unlike those in, for example Manchester.(113) Such was their conduct at Paulton's Anti-Corn Law Lecture of 13 June 1839, though this may have been influenced by the fact that Paulton's private(114) views were very near their own:

> . . . it was unjust for the middle class people to call upon the working classes to go along with them for a repeal of the Corn Laws, while they refused to go along with them for an extension of the suffrage . . . he maintained that the question of the Corn Laws would not unite the middle and working classes, for the time was fast approaching when the middle classes would feel the effects of the Corn Laws more severely than they had yet felt.(115)

Indeed Paulton's view that suffrage extension was necessary to secure repeal was to be cited by Matthew Cullen at the Universal Suffrage Central Committee meeting of 14 November 1839. He proposed a resolution sanctioning the right of the productive classes to intervene in any public meeting which did not recognise the principles of universal suffrage and refused to aid in the fight for the Charter. Others however, were not convinced of the wisdom of such a move. Allan thought they should not come to any hasty decisions: 'It might be a step that would displease many favourable to their views; and, in fact, many of their own party might be opposed to it.' W. C. Pattison entirely agreed. He pointed out that the views of Chartists concerning repeal were very mixed. Many of the working classes were just as favourable to repeal as to Chartism. Some trades indeed favoured repeal at the expense of the Charter, since they could more easily appreciate the practical benefits of repeal. Such was the division of opinion that the meeting was adjourned without any decision having been reached.(116)

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(113) Ibid. 6 Mar. 1839.
(114) i.e. he was not stating official Anti-Corn Law League policy.
(115) Paulton, meeting 13 June 1839, Scots Times, 19 June 1839.
(116) U. S. Central Committee, 14 Nov. 1839, Scottish Patriot, 16 Nov. 1839.

As late as November 1839 therefore, radicals were still confused and perplexed by the question of repeal of the Corn Laws: a confusion which was to continue throughout the period. In practice however, the 'hardliners' i.e. those in favour of intervention in other meetings[117] now began to enjoy a brief ascendancy, and a change did occur in the relations between the two movements. This can be seen in the terms of reference used in their analysis. Though the original hostility to the aristocracy continued,[118] hostility to the Whigs or certain sections of the middle classes was now more often expressed. Throughout the period, hostility to the Whigs was stronger than hostility to the middle classes. Glasgow working men did not consistently equate the middle classes with the Whigs, or appear consistently hostile to the middle classes.

This confusion and oscillation in viewpoints can be illustrated by quoting three statements from one man: Thomas Gillespie, a Chartist. Thus on 31 January 1839 he confessed that, 'He liked to see the middle classes coming among them to instruct them; and by this might all yet be friends';[119] in March, he grew critical of both the Whigs and the middle classes: 'He wished to see if the Whigs, or the middle classes were willing to go along with the working men, or if they were actually so interested in getting cheap bread for the working classes as they pretended they were';[120] in May he denounced the Whigs: 'They would find that the Whigs had all along attempted to sow dissension in their camp - the Anti-Corn Law agitation was one of the means resorted to.'[121] Hostility therefore to a section of society other than the aristocracy was increasing.

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(117) 'Intervention' was not confined solely to Corn Law meetings, e.g. Slave Emancipation meetings were also disrupted. Ibid. 15 Aug. 1840.
(118) e.g. R. Malcolm jr., 7 April 1841, Scots Times, 14 April 1841; Rodger, meeting in Tollcross, Northern Star, 4 Sept. 1841.
(119) Chronicle, 1 Feb. 1839.
(120) G.U.S.A., 5 Mar. 1839, Scots Times, 9 Mar. 1839.
(121) G.U.S.A., 10 May 1839, ibid. 15 May 1839.

III

Chartists were to refer to the period 1839-42 as marked by two years of 'acrimonious feeling'(122) and the habit each class had of 'abusing and opposing each other'.(123) This was also the period when relations between Chartists and Repealers were notoriously bad. There is no doubt that the period did in fact witness considerable strains. Yet even during this more strained period of late 1839-42, such 'hostility' between Chartists and Repealers, and between middle and working-class radicals was never continuous or clear-cut, but was always marked by 'oscillations' and 'cross currents' in viewpoints. This can be illustrated firstly by examining Chartist attitudes to the Anti-Corn law movement (in particular by looking at their behaviour at meetings); secondly by examining the rather wider, though to some extent overlapping, issue of general co-operation between the classes.

In this period, the Chartists were now no longer content to monopolise the 'question time'; they actually took over the meetings. Moreover in so doing, they displayed self-confidence and class consciousness. This can be seen at the Repeal meeting of 21 December 1839. To Johnston's original resolution that the Corn Laws ought to be repealed, Moir had added a clause stating repeal should be accompanied by a reduction in taxation to enable both the agriculturalist and the manufacturer to compete successfully with the comparatively untaxed foreign corn grower and also maintained the National Debt would have to be abolished.

Johnston however, had no objection to the addition of this clause, whereupon W. C. Pattison added universal suffrage to the resolution. Malcolm McFarlane, vice president of the G.U.S.A. seconded this with a back-handed request to the Whigs to lead them as they had done before:

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(122) J. Jack at Rev. A. Harvey's Anti-Corn Law Lecture, 11 Aug. 1840 Ibid. 19 Aug. 1840.
(123) J. Jack at Anti-Corn Law meeting, 16 Feb. 1842, Argus, 17 Feb. 1842.

'It was plain that the middle classes were actuated by selfish motives in the cause they were pursuing. The Chartists, however, were not actuated by factious motives, they wished the Whigs to go forward as in days of yore, and lead them on to glory and to victory.'(124) The Anti-Corn Law Association then left. Ross, treasurer of the G.U.S.A. took the chair, and the meeting continued in an atmosphere of self-congratulation and self-confidence: ' . . . the working classes are determined to work out their own political salvation'.(125) The Anti-Corn Law Association attempted to get its own back by trying to pack a further meeting on 27 December 1839 but this again resulted in confusion. The Chartists insisted that universal suffrage was the only way to repeal the Corn Laws. The chairman declared the repeal motion carried, he did not put the Chartist amendment to the vote. In the confusion there were threats to put out the gas if the meeting did not disperse quietly.(126)

There was however a certain sympathy with the way the Chartists had been treated. Even the Argus, the main organ of Corn Law repeal, thought that the Chartists should not be blamed solely: ' . . . the middle class is reaping the fruits of its own apathy and self-seeking'.(127) This view was almost echoed by the Chartist Scottish Patriot: 'We can scarcely attach any particular blame to their leaders. It is the great lump of middle class stupidity itself that we would castigate . . . .' To the Scottish Patriot the only party who had gained anything from such conduct was the Tory since the breach between the Whigs and the Radicals had been further widened.(128)

Since no one appeared to be profiting from such tactics, it was not surprising that a general wish for better relations should become

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(124) Repeal of the Corn Laws meeting 21 Dec. 1839, Scottish Patriot, 28 Dec. 1839.
(125) Gillespie, ibid.
(126) Ibid.
(127) Argus, 23 Dec. 1839.
(128) Scottish Patriot, 4 Jan. 1840.

evident. The Repealers now (11 August 1840) did not ask the Chartists to give up their demand for universal suffrage, but asked that they also join with the Repealers in demanding repeal.(129) The Chartists too, were obviously unhappy at the lack of harmony:

> It was time, . . . that a better understanding should take place than what, for the last two years, had existed between the working and middle classes. It was time that the acrimonious feeling which existed should be supplanted by a spirit of reconciliation. (Cheers.) The working and middle classes had much to reform, but so long as they continued separated as at present, neither party could accomplish their objects. Under these circumstances there was everything urging both classes to unite for their own interests. Such union, however, could never take place till the respective opinions of the two parties were tested by comparison, that their relative qualities might be seen.

It was suggested, though not acted upon, that there should be a public discussion comparing the views of the Repealers, with those of the Chartists, the operatives paying half the expenses.(130) Nevertheless in October 1840, a good-natured, though abortive, meeting took place between a deputation of the Corn Law Association and the executive council of the Lanarkshire U.S.A. At this, the Chartists suggested that a basis for union between the two should be either (a) the Durham test of household suffrage, triennial parliaments and the ballot, or (b) the Charter to be gained by a series of instalments.(131) Again agreement could not be reached.

When however Chartists subsequently 'intervened' at repeal meetings, they tended to ask for an extension of equal rights to all and repeal of the Corn Laws;(132) and the Repealers increasingly stressed their aversion to class legislation and their lack of party affiliation.(133) At the Chartist Convention held in Glasgow in the

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(129) e.g. Rev. Harvey's Anti-Corn Law Lecture, 11 Aug. 1840. Scots Times, 19 Aug. 1840.
(130) Jack, ibid.
(131) Ibid. 7 Oct. 1840.
(132) Meeting 22 Sept. 1841, Argus, 23 Sept. 1841.
(133) e.g. Rev. Harvey, Great Anti-Corn Law Demonstration 14, 15 Jan. 1842, ibid. 17 Jan. 1842.

first week of January 1842 a motion expressing satisfaction at the growing progress of Chartist principles among the middle classes was passed in preference to O'Connor's amendment giving thanks for working-class resistance to 'oppression'.(134) At this convention Scottish Chartists implemented their resolution of 8 November 1841(135) and rejected O'Connor's National Petition, because, while it included repeal of the Irish Union, and of the English Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, it excluded repeal of the Corn Laws which the Scottish Chartists felt might have been included.(136) This rejection caused O'Connor to denounce the 'Whig-Chartists' of Glasgow and to wage a campaign against them in the Northern Star over the next few weeks.(137)

Nevertheless though the Chartists were preaching class co-operation with greater fervour, they were not doing so in any spirit of deference. They were still convinced that they would be proved right in the end: that to gain their object the Repealers would be forced to join the Chartists and give the working classes their due representation in Parliament. In their view, the success of any measure 'depended on the working classes' since any middle-class measure could be defeated by a union of the aristocracy and the working classes; and similarly any aristocratic measure could be defeated by a union of the middle and working classes. The middle classes were therefore warned:

> . . . If you denounce our conduct - if you apply to us and to our exertions coarse and vulgar epithets - if you impute motives to us which you cannot substantiate and which do not actuate us - to that extent will you throw up a barrier between the middle and working classes, to that extent will you by your own conduct place us beyond the pale of our acting in concert with you (Cheers) . . .(138)

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(134) Ibid. 10 Jan. 1842.
(135) Northern Star, 27 Nov. 1841.
(136) Ibid. 8, 15, 22 Jan. 1842.
(137) Ibid. 15, 22, 29 Jan. 1842 etc.
(138) W. C. Pattison, Great Anti-Corn Law Demonstration 14, 15 Jan. 1842, Argus, 17 Jan. 1842.

In accordance with this wish for better relations, Chartist 'intervention' at the Young Men's Free Trade Association meeting of 21 January 1842 took place 'in a spirit of conciliation and fairness which was alike creditable to themselves and refreshing to others'.(139) And as had happened so often before, threat from without was to provide a further binding agent in the reconciliation between the radicals. At the Anti-Corn Law meeting of 16 February 1842 the Repealers had taken great pains to demonstrate their wish for co-operation and their recognition of working-class demands: Buchanan declared his readiness to approve any resolution intimating that an extension of the suffrage, or even universal suffrage was an indispensable prerequisite for Corn Law repeal.(140)

Other Repealers also spoke of the necessity of extending equal electoral rights to all,(141) but it was the Chartist Jack who really explained why co-operation was making great strides forward:

> The two classes had long been in the habit of abusing and opposing each other, which was all very well so long as the government was favourable to the middle and opposed to the working classes; but, now that there was a Tory Government, opposed to both, matters were much altered, and if the middle classes wished their interests promoted, and the working classes wished to get their rights, the two must unite.(142)

As in 1834-5 then, the threat of a Tory government was helping to close the ranks (as early as 1839 fear of Tory dominance had caused Moir to call for middle-class support).(143)

This was not just a matter of idle words: though the meeting passed the resolution embracing the whole Charter, yet more than two thousand people supported the amendment calling for 'a full, fair and free representation of the people in Parliament'.(144) The Argus registered approval: 'This

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(139) Argus, 24 Jan. 1842.
(140) Buchanan, Anti-Corn Law meeting 16 Feb. 1842, ibid. 17 Feb. 1842.
(141) e.g. Cross, ibid.
(142) Jack, ibid.
(143) e.g. Moir, Scots Times, 8 May 1839.
(144) Argus, 17 Feb. 1842.

decision we regard, as on the whole, very satisfactory . . . . This indicates a great change for the better in reference to the Anti-Corn-Law question among the Chartists of Glasgow.'(145) Thereafter, though there was still 'intervention', as at the public meeting of 12 December 1842 held to consider the effects of the Corn Laws on the people,(146) it was certainly waning. The last recorded incident was on 3 May 1843,(147) while it was still continuing in Edinburgh in 1846.(148) The move towards better relations on the part of the Chartists and Repealers therefore cannot be explained purely in terms of the waning of Chartism after 1842.

IV

Within the wider issue of general co-operation between the classes, a close examination of the period 1839-42 shows that both sides made continuing attempts to co-operate. Even those who insisted strongly that class co-operation did not exist, seemed nevertheless to feel that sympathy between the classes was desirable: 'Every class but the working class had exclusive privileges . . . but the National Debt was all that belonged to the masses . . . . There was no sympathy existing between the classes, it was entirely a question of pounds, shillings, and pence.'(149)

Moreover, from time to time events did help to bridge the gap. Thus when the question of a successor to Bentinck again arose, a call for co-operation was made.(150) The Directors of the Reform Association sent off a petition for a commutation of the sentences passed on Frost and others.(151) At the meeting of 20 January 1840 to memori-

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(145) Ibid.
(146) Scotch Reformers Gazette, 17 Dec. 1842.
(147) Argus, 8 May 1843.
(148) Ibid. 5 Feb. 1846.
(149) Dr. J. Taylor, Great Radical Demonstration 10 June 1839, Scots Times, 12 June 1839.
(150) Meeting 18 June 1839, ibid. 19 June 1839.
(151) Scottish Patriot, 1 Feb. 1840.

alise Victoria on behalf of Frost, Jones and Williams, John Rodger showed the Chartist eagerness for middle-class support: 'He called upon the Whigs to come forward now, and do some penance for the wrongs they had inflicted upon the people in times past. (Cheers). For he would not hesitate to give even a Whig the right hand of friendship in such a momentous matter.'(152) Attempts at co-operation elsewhere were eagerly viewed and avidly praised.(153) Moir attended the demonstration at Leeds in January 1841 designed to secure a 'coalition' between Chartists and Repealers. At this he argued that unless the middle classes supported the Charter, the Tories would succeed.(154)

A meeting was held on 2 February 1841 in Glasgow to hear a lecture on the Corn Laws and receive Moir's report of his mission to Leeds. Robert Malcolm jr. praised such attempts at union and proposed a vote of thanks to Moir, Joseph Hume, Sharman Crawford, Col. Thompson and J. A. Roebuck. Charles McKay objected to Hume being included, and proposed as an amendment a vote of thanks to Moir alone. This proposal did not receive a seconder, and the original motion was passed almost unanimously - only seven dissenting.(155)

On 7 April 1841 Robert Malcolm jr. delivered a lecture on 'Class legislation, and the evils of an exclusive system of Government' to the Bridgeton branch of the Lanarkshire U.S.A. In this he discussed the detrimental effects that the Corn Laws and Import Duties had on the working classes; made a plea for the Charter and the National Petition; appealed on behalf of the impoverished Chartists; and

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(152) John Rodger, 20 Jan. 1840, ibid. 25 Jan. 1840
(153) e.g. Argus, 23 April 1840 was favourable to a meeting at Leicester where attempts at union were made by both sides. For the Leeds meeting between Chartists and Leaguers see Saturday Evening Post, 30 Jan. 1841, Scots Times, 27 Jan. 1841, Scottish Patriot, 30 Jan. 1841.
(154) Scottish Patriot, 30 Jan. 1841.
(155) Ibid. 6 Feb. 1841; see also Scots Times, 10 Feb. 1841.

called on the working and middle classes to unite. These apparently were the sorts of sentiments that the meeting wished to hear since he 'sat down amidst the enthusiastic applause of the meeting'. A discussion followed, 'The only effect, however, was to make all parties better understand each others views, and come to a unanimous expression of their determined hostility to the present system of government.' The resulting resolution traced the people's grievances to the effects of class legislation, the maladministration of their affairs in Parliament and saw remedy in the Six Points.(156)

From time to time the middle and working classes attended together in meetings, such as the meeting for the Dismissal of Ministers held on 17 March 1840,(157) and the Chartist meeting in Tradeston held on 18 April 1840.(158) And the press kept up a stream of comment on similar lines: 'It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for either the working or middle class to obtain any substantial reform, by peaceful and rational means, while their common enemy can keep them disunited.'(159) The Scots Times commented with approval on the fact that resolutions of the Birmingham Chartist Council concerning the release of Lovett and Collins had contained no denunciation of the middle classes: ' . . . we trust it betokens the dawning of that friendly and agreeable spirit among all classes of Reformers, . . . surely both must know, from past experience, that united they stand, divided they fall, and that their interests are so closely entwined, that the one cannot suffer without the other.'(160)

Similarly the Glasgow Chartist press, the Scottish Patriot and the Chartist Circular, did not advocate a consistent policy of class

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(156) Scottish Patriot; 10 April 1841; see also Scots Times, 14 April 1841.
(157) Scottish Patriot, 21 Mar. 1840.
(158) Ibid. 25 April 1840.
(159) Ibid. 27 July 1839. Address of the General Convention to the Middle Classes of the Empire, which claimed both wanted the same measures: rational reform, permanent prosperity and happiness.
(160) Scots Times, 5 Aug. 1840.

hostility. The Scottish Patriot was begun on 6 July 1839 under the auspices of the G.U.S.A. who made their views plain in an 'Address of the Canvassing Committee of the Universal Suffrage Association to the Middle Classes, especially Shopkeepers, Victuallers, Spirit-dealers, and Warehousemen'. It aimed to 'fill the need for a national journal advocating sound Radical principles'. 'Sound Radical principles' were: the Charter; reform of the Lords; abolition of naval and military flogging; free trade and abolition of the Corn Laws; economy - reduction of naval and military establishments; direct taxation; Post Office reform; further amelioration of the criminal code and abolition of capital punishment; simplification of the civil code; abolition of the Laws of Primogeniture and Entail; a national system of education; purifying of social institutions and the application of the funds of hospitals etc. to proper uses e.g. relief of the poor; corporation reform; improvement of the monetary system; the right of working men to unite and protect their labour while at the same time exposing the errors of trades unions and suggesting proper means for future improvement.(161)

It was obviously designed to have as wide an appeal as possible: with the admittedly important exceptions of the Charter and the provision about trades unions there was little to affront a middle-class radical. Its subsequent issues attempted to continue this. It called for class co-operation,(162) assuring its readers that thousands of the middle classes were joining the agitation;(163) it quoted with approval from the Anti-Corn Law Circular,(164) printed a letter

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(161) Scottish Patriot, 6 July 1839. The Edinburgh Chartists' counterpart the True Scotsman advocated a similarly wide programme of reform. True Scotsman, 12 Jan. 1839 quoted in Wright, op.cit. pp. 78-9.

(162) Scottish Patriot, 27 July 1839; see also ibid. 26 Sept. 1840, an article by 'A Middle Class Man' urging the middle classes to 'soften' the working classes by kindness and strict adherence to justice.

(163) Ibid. 3 Aug. 1839.

(164) Ibid. 4 Jan. 1840.

from Archibald Prentice of the Anti-Corn Law League about the Corn Laws,(165) praised Tait's Magazine,(166) and had liberal helpings of Bentham in its columns.(167)

It did not have a consistent policy regarding class co-operation, which was hardly surprising since it was the organ of the G.U.S.A. who did not themselves have a consistent policy. It ranged from urging co-operation, to printing G. J. Harney's cries for a class war.(168) It ran a series about the pros and cons of uniting with the middle classes. This consisted of four articles in the shape of letters from two Chartists. The first favoured co-operation with the middle-classes if the middle classes would promise to join an agitation for household suffrage, the ballot and triennial parliaments. He maintained that nothing would be achieved without the middle classes;(169) and that working men could still maintain their own associations devoted to universal suffrage while at the same time co-operating with the middle classes. Such a state of affairs was doubly necessary since the appeal of Chartism was not increasing.(170)

The other writer strongly disagreed. Calling himself a 'True Chartist' in contrast to the first writer whom he characterised as a Whig-Radical, he warned the working classes not to be duped again by the middle classes as they had been in 1831-2. The middle classes must be forced to join with the working classes. To achieve this, the Chartists should back the Tories against the Whigs: this would make the middle classes see the necessity of agitating for the Charter. Without working men, the power of the middle classes was nothing.(171) The articles in favour of co-operation were better written, better argued and employed a more sophisticated style; and it is perhaps

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(165) Ibid. 1 Aug. 1840.
(166) Ibid. 18 Jan. 1840.
(167) Ibid. e. g. 23 Nov. 1839.
(168) Ibid. 1 Feb. 1840.
(169) Ibid. 2 May 1840.
(170) Ibid. 30 May 1840.
(171) Ibid. 16 May, 6 June 1840.

reasonable to suggest they impressed more readers.

Another debate on the propriety of middle-class union this time between Robert Malcolm and Bronterre O'Brien took place in the columns of the Scottish Patriot,(172) while articles by O'Neill and Collins favouring middle-class union were also printed.(173)

When the Scottish Patriot itself did comment on class co-operation, its comments were often sensible, moderate, reasoned and articulate, showing a good grasp of the situation, being alive both to the difficulties inherent in, and the desire for, co-operation:

> They [the leaders of the Anti-Corn Law agitation and their ilk] must be perfectly aware, that there are thousands of the working classes, throughout both England and Scotland, who stand neutral, deterred on the one hand by the tone of the more violent Chartists, and on the other hand by the evident selfish motives actuating the Whigs at the present moment, and their shameful desertion of their pledges given at the last agitation of the middle and working classes. They must also be aware, that if a junction was effected, on a proper secure basis, between the Chartists and Corn Law Repealers, those neutral thousands would instantly take part in the united movement . . . . Let the Whigs do this - let them propose a mutual league, the great object of which is, in the first place, to agitate for a general amnesty to all political offenders; secondly, a personal, or even a five-pound suffrage; and if the Chartists refuse this, then let the Corn Law Repealers denounce them as men madly refusing a boon, because every iota of their demands are not complied with - not till then. And not till then will Chartists cease their endeavours to "burke" the Anti-Corn Law Meetings.(174)

The Scottish Patriot was in favour of 'intervention' in public meetings, seeing this as a course of action which was having positive results.(175) At the same time it constantly urged the necessity of

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(172) e.g. ibid. 20, 27 Feb., 27 Mar., 10 April 1841.
(173) e.g. ibid. 20 Feb., 27 Mar. 1841.
(174) Ibid. 7 Mar. 1840.
(175) 'So long as the Chartists of Glasgow contented themselves with petitioning and complaining, the middle classes laughed and sneered at them. A course of obstruction was commenced, which, in twelve months, has put a stop to all public meetings, and the Chartists now command attention - another step, and they will compell (sic) respect.' Ibid. 19 Dec. 1840.

improved organisation, both generally and of the Trades.(176) The very next week, reviewing the state of Chartism at the close of 1840, it urged union with the middle classes, since no worthwhile reform would be secured till the classes were united. To secure such union it called on the Chartists to act in a 'calm and dignified' manner.(177)

On the whole, the Scottish Patriot saw the role of Chartism as rather didactic: 'We [Chartism] may not be producing great effects upon the government, but we are forming a character for the people which they have never before possessed - making them intelligent by instruction, and moral by inculcating the principles of total abstinence. This is the present position of Chartism.'(178)

The Scottish Patriot therefore, was a fair reflection of Glasgow Chartist opinion on most of the issues of the day. Like the Chartists themselves, it lacked consistency over the vexing questions of the middle-class union and Corn Law repeal. Like them, it leaned more to moral force and the Chartism of the Lovett genus, though it did flirt with O'Connorism. While its last extant issue is that of 17 April 1841, it seems to have continued till the end of 1841. The Scotsman of 12 January 1842 commented that the previous Saturday's issue had not appeared and therefore it was deemed to have ceased publication.

The Chartist Circular on the other hand, though it avoided attacks on personalities and had few attacks on other papers, was more extreme in its commentary. It was published by the Universal Suffrage Central Committee for Scotland, and was a weekly propaganda paper which sold at ½d. (0.25p). It had a circulation of over 22,500 in its first

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(176) Ibid.
(177) 'Our aim must therefore be to disabuse the minds of the middle classes of the distorted ideas they have formed of Chartism. Never let us go a-begging to them to join us for Godsake; but if, by a calm and dignified course of conduct, we can make them mitigate their present extreme hostility to our agitation, we must be prepared to meet their advances in proper spirit.' Ibid. 26 Dec. 1840.
(178) Ibid.

year.(179) It did not go in for half-measures: 'They [Chartists] know that partial alternatives, however much they may benefit classes and class interests, cannot be productive of good to the general body.'(180) Class legislation was abhorred:

> Class legislation has heretofore been the curse of the country. It has corrupted the whole government - poisoned the press - demoralized society - prostituted the church - dissipated the resources of the nation - created monopolies - paralysed trade - ruined half its merchants - produced almost national bankruptcy - depressed the whole working classes, and pauperised most of them. Consequently, the sooner we get rid of such a monstrous system, it will be so much the better for all, except those who either live, or expect to live by plunder.

To achieve this end it urged that the 'capitolocracy' should unite with the people.(181) In its first issue, it had seen a lack of sympathy between the two as the cause of the present misfortunes.(182) It urged unity to effect the Charter,(183) and stated quite clearly that there must be suffrage extension before there would be the slightest chance of Corn Law repeal.(184)

As might be expected in a paper which carried a column by Bronterre O'Brien, its comments on the middle classes were far more hostile than the Scottish Patriot's:

> The middle classes are the real tyrants of society. By middle classes is meant that body of persons, whether great or small, who come between what is called the highest authority of a state and the great mass of the people . . . . Laws, in fact, to them, [the middle classes] are but instruments of aggrandisement - means by which they may extract from the people, whether under the term slavery or freedom, the greatest amount of production at the smallest possible cost to themselves.(185)

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(179) True Scotsman, 14 Dec. 1839; Cowan, op.cit. p. 193.
(180) Chartist Circular, 5 Oct. 1839.
(181) Ibid. 18 April 1840.
(182) 'it is because the lords of the middle classes turn the power of the capital against the producers, and unite with the aristocracy in the wholesale plunder of the people . . .' ibid. 28 Sept. 1839.
(183) Ibid. 30 Nov. 1839.
(184) Ibid. 19 Oct. 1839.
(185) Ibid. 16 Jan. 1841.

But despite these demonstrations of class consciousness, its ideas on class were really of the older analysis, concentrating on for example corruption in government. There was no mention of the right of labour to all that it produced and the need to destroy the economic power of the capitalist such as can be found among the London tailors in 1834.(186)

Its ties with the older analysis can also be seen in its choice of 'heroes'. Extracts from the works of Knox, Cromwell, Burns, Godwin, Shelley, Cartwright and Lamennais were common. Many extracts from Bentham were also printed.(187) Another popular feature was the reprinting of all 'freedom' manifestos from the Bill of Rights to the Chartist Catechism.

Its object however was never revolution: it was quite prepared to tolerate monarchy, 'for, with universal suffrage, its power to do evil is nugatory'.(188) Indeed it took pains to emphasise its tolerance: providing there was unanimity over the major issue of universal suffrage, other minor points could be waived.(189) Thus the Chartist Circular also wished for co-operation, though on its own terms.

Tendencies towards co-operation were further aided by the very nature of Glasgow Chartism. Despite the occasional extremist statements and the adherence to O'Connor by such as Moir, Glasgow Chartism tended more to Chartism of the Lovett and Collins genus: it favoured

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(186) '"The real producers of wealth and knowledge" must "make themselves a distinct and separate body from those who produce neither," then would "the first demands of industry be universally allowed or conceded."' W. H. Oliver, 'The Consolidated Trades' Union of 1834'. Ec. H.R., 2nd ser. XVII (1964-5), p. 32.

(187) Chartist Circular, 12, 26 Oct. 1839.

(188) Ibid. 2 May 1840.

(189) 'If any man will join us for the one great point [universal suffrage] we will gladly receive his help, nor will we frighten him away by insisting that he shall agree with us on all other points'. Ibid. 6 Nov. 1841.

moral force, education and peaceful means to effect its ends. Notwithstanding their rescinding of the Calton Hill resolutions against physical force in December 1838,(190) Glasgow Chartists were always moderate in their actions.

The Scottish delegate meeting of 14-16 August 1839 held in the Universalist Chapel, Glasgow, affirmed their faith in peaceful methods. This meeting established a Central Committee for Scotland which was to use its funds to engage lecturers; to print and circulate political tracts; to do everything possible to disseminate knowledge among the people and to organise Scotland.(191) This set the pattern for the future: it was continually stressed that the Charter was to be secured by 'all legal, peaceful and constitutional means'.(192)

Even when apparently favouring physical force at the expense of moral force, as happened at the meeting of 4 November 1841 where a vote of confidence was passed in O'Connor, it was still emphasised that only peaceful, legal and constitutional means would be employed.(193) Similarly the Argus commented of a meeting held on 27 August 1842(during the height of the commercial depression)to memorialise the Queen, that the Chartists did not seem to have any desire to proceed to extreme measures.(194)

Moderation could also be seen in the way that the Gorbals U.S.A. maintained that it was willing to take household suffrage as a first instalment.(195) Even the Anti-Corn Law League lecturers commented

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(190) Scotsman, 8 Dec. 1838.
(191) Scottish Patriot, 17 Aug. 1839. A total abstinence pledge was also taken.
(192) U.S. Central Committee for Scotland 22, 23 Sept. 1840 - re-election of committee. Chronicle, 28 Sept. 1840.
(193) Ibid. 5 Nov. 1841.
(194) Argus, 29 Aug. 1842.
(195) W. C. Pattison, Gorbals U.S.A. 30 July 1839, Scottish Patriot, 3 Aug. 1839.

on the moderation of Glasgow operatives.(196) While from the other side, O'Connor was impressed by the reasonableness of the middle classes: 'In Scotland, the middle class are better men, and always attend the meetings, to judge for themselves, and they decide according to the arguments they hear, while in England, they decide by physical force and perfidy.'(197) The Chartists were even prepared to make excuses for the middle classes providing the middle classes showed some signs of going along with them. Thus Rodger thanked those who had voted for the universal suffrage petition in the Town Council:

> This was pleasing at the present time, when we saw such an utter want of principle among those classes who are superior to us in wealth. It was cheering to see at least some wealthy men ready to advocate the principles of truth; and although they might not go the whole length, still some excuse can be found, if we consider their situation and the circumstances which surround them in society.(198)

This disposition towards goodwill was again evident in the response to approaches from Repealers even when these were couched in somewhat condescending terms, as was the letter of Charles Todd of 4 January 1840 asking for the Chartists' help in repealing the Corn Laws:

> Now, what I mean to advise you in, is, that as you agree with the other Reformers in getting an alteration in the Corn Laws; that you get up a petition

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(196) League Letter Book, Vol. 2, No. 229. Paulton to Cobden, about the operatives: 'They are Household Suffrage men - advocating Universal Suffrage as an abstract recognition of the rights of the people - but willing to make any compromise that will [ ] to them a fair share in the representation of the country - some of the leaders of their unions have explicitly told me that the proposition of a five pound franchise, including lodgers - and public teachers of every description - would rally around it the whole of the operatives or Trades Unions of Glasgow . . . .'

(197) Scottish Patriot, 7 Sept. 1839 abridged from Northern Star. See also Northern Star, 12 Nov. 1842 where middle-class Chartists are again praised: 'O, for a few such English middle-class men as Moir, Proudfoot, McPherson (Aberdeen), Ancout, and the glorious George Ross . . .'

(198) Rodger, G.U.S.A. 9 Mar. 1840, Scottish Patriot, 14 Mar. 1840.

> of your own commencing with a proper but determined resolution against the corrupt laws, and <u>you may add to it your sentiments upon different subjects, if you</u> choose; (199) but let it be evident that the petition is a Corn petition . . .(200)

McFadzean, secretary of the U.S.A. replied:

> Altho' your letter to us does not embrace our views, but partially, its language is that of persuasion and conciliation, and on that account we hail it as an earnest of a better spirit on the part of the middle classes, than they have shown to the working classes since the Reform Bill became the law of the land . . .(201)

It is true however that the views of the secretaries of Associations do not necessarily reflect those of the majority of their members.(202) Robert McGavin's reply to the same letter was certainly couched in the strong language of class consciousness:

> You fear the ignorance of the working classes; but the real fact of the matter is, you, and almost all such as you, fear their knowledge and their power . . . . The fact is, the working men have in many instances, in national politics, since the year 1789, shown themselves to be always in advance of what is called the better class, who have, on all occasions shown themselves to be far behind the working class in point of information, and yet you and they would unjustly refuse better informed men the franchise because they do not possess a ten-pound house . . .(203)

Yet as has been shown the existence of class consciousness did not necessarily rule out the possibilities of class co-operation.

Nor should it be forgotten that though neither movement was converted to the viewpoint of the other, individuals in one, could and did, appreciate the ideals of people in the other and even indicate this in public. At a meeting of electors in the first Ward on 25 October 1841,

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(199) My underlining.
(200) <u>Scottish Patriot</u>, 11 Jan. 1840.
(201) <u>Ibid</u>.
(202) As I. Prothero has pointed out: 'The London Working Men's Association and the "People's Charter" - Debates', <u>P.&P.</u>, XXXVIII (1967), p. 172.
(203) R. McGavin, 10 Jan. 1840, <u>Scottish Patriot</u>, 18 Jan. 1840.

Moir protested that 'a misunderstanding had gone abroad that the people of Glasgow were against a repeal of the corn laws. The reverse was the case, for at their last meeting, a resolution condemnatory of these laws was unanimously carried'; and Councillors Hastie and Whitehead (admittedly only in their capacity as private citizens) favoured suffrage extension.(204) Similarly W. C. Pattison could propose a resolution at the Free Trade Soirée of 31 March 1842, on the necessity of publicising the detrimental effects of the Corn Laws and other restrictions on free trade, because 'he believed that the diffusion of sound political knowledge of any kind amongst his fellow-countrymen, would forward the great cause of universal freedom (Applause). He was satisfied too from the conduct of the government in rejecting the petitions of millions of the people, that they would be all ultimately forced to demand the power which would enable them to carry their measures into operation.'(205) While Thomas Davidson could maintain that ' . . . the representation of the country should be placed on such a footing as would give to all classes and interests a fair share of influence as would protect the interests of all, securing to property its just rights, on condition of its performing its proper duties.'(206)

Similar feeling was also prevalent in the public at large: while Robert Lang a weaver, considered the primary cause of the dreadful conditions of hand-loom weavers was the lack of popular representation, he also considered the Corn Laws and an unsound currency to be among the chief causes.(207)

Nor did either movement possess a monopoly of one class in terms of its moving spirits. Thus the Chartist committee appointed to make the arrangements for O'Connor's visit in 1841 was according to the

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(204) Chronicle, 27 Oct. 1841.
(205) W. C. Pattison, Free Trade Soirée 31 Mar. 1842, Argus, 4 April 1842.
(206) Davidson, Anti-Corn Law Association 22 Sept. 1842, ibid. 26 Sept. 1842.
(207) Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 61.

Northern Star, 'A large and respectable committee of middle and working classes . . .'(208)

All this meant that Glasgow was not divided into two totally irreconcilable, warring factions even during the period of greatest strain 1839-42. Indeed tensions within the agitation tended now to centre not so much on a straight 'fight' between Corn Law Repealers and Chartists but between rival sections of the Chartists in the shape of the Complete Suffrage movement willing to settle for universal suffrage and the out-and-out Chartists unwilling to settle for anything but the Six Points. Once again this was a shift in emphasis since the point at issue was still the question of priorities.

Support for the principles of the Complete Suffrage movement appears to have been relatively strong in Glasgow; perhaps significantly the Northern Star affected to ignore it, wishing Chartists would 'let the "New Move" alone in its littleness, and not bestow upon it unnecessary notoriety'.(209) The Bridgeton Political Union was founded in March 1842 on the principles of Complete Suffragism and was addressed by Smith, secretary of the Glasgow branch.(210) The movement also seems to have been originally received in a spirit of open-mindedness: at a meeting in Bridgeton on 6 July 1842, William Johnson of the Complete Suffrage Committee maintained his readiness to support the Charter Association, and to canvass for either association, whichever the people decided;(211) and when the Complete Suffragists tried to extend their organisation in Gorbals, a meeting of the Gorbals Chartist Club on 26 September 1842 decided to assist the Complete Suffragists

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(208) Northern Star, 11 Sept. 1841. At a meeting for O'Connor on 11 Oct. 1841 a number of loaves on poles (a direct reference to the Corn Laws) was evident. Argus, 14 Oct. 1841.

(209) Northern Star, 11 June 1842; similar view ibid. 16 July 1842 when it advised neither joining nor annoying the Complete Suffragists unless they tried to join the Corn Law Repealers.

(210) Ibid. 26 Mar. 1842.

(211) Ibid. 9 July 1842.

providing they did not slander the Chartist leaders or present their organisation as the better. If they did so, then the 'superior merits' of the Glasgow Charter Association would have to be recommended.(212)

On 26, 27 September 1842 Henry Vincent delivered lectures on Complete Suffragism to large audiences in the City Hall.(213) A banquet held on 3 October 1842 to honour Sharman Crawford and Joseph Sturge was attended by more than a thousand people.(214) Furthermore, the movement had captured a number of the moving spirits from both the middle and working classes such as Turner, Ure, Cross, Birkmyre, W. C. Pattison, John Rodger, Rev. Harvie and Malcolm McFarlane, and a number from previous agitations such as Dr. Smeal and W. P. Paton.(215)

Nevertheless it is true that relations between Complete Suffragists and Chartists were often more than strained: as the G.U.S.A. had struck off Pattison from membership for joining the Repealers,(216) so the directors of the Lanarkshire Charter Association erased Rodger's and Johnston's names from the Calton sub-committee because they had joined the Complete Suffragists;(217) and Robert Malcolm was hissed at meetings for his views.(218) At the Complete Suffrage meeting of 3 October 1842 the propriety of standing out for all Six Points of the Charter was endorsed. Moir also objected to the mode of electing delegates for the Birmingham Complete Suffrage Conference maintaining they should be elected at public meetings, and not at separate meetings of the middle and working classes.(219)

The meeting of 29 November 1842 to elect delegates for the Conference, decided to adhere to the name and principles of the Charter:

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(212) Ibid. 5 Nov. 1842.
(213) Argus, 29 Sept. 1842.
(214) Ibid. 6 Oct. 1842.
(215) Ibid.; Scotch Reformers Gazette, 8 Oct. 1842.
(216) Northern Star, 26 Feb. 1842.
(217) Ibid. 26 Mar. 1842.
(218) Ibid. 5, 12, 26 Feb. 1842.
(219) Argus, 6 Oct. 1842.

Rodger had proposed the adoption of the name 'Complete Suffrage' to conciliate the middle classes and urged the propriety of union and moderation. The Chartists however resoundingly defeated such proposals and secured their delegates' election[220] (the Complete Suffragists managed to compensate for this to some extent by having their delegates elected for other places).[221]

It is also true however, that there was a definite body of Chartist opinion favouring some sort of union with the middle classes and that relations with Corn Law Repealers had become increasingly cordial after 1843: G. J. Harney complained in the summer of 1843 of the 'apathetic state of Glasgow'.[222] Members of the Complete Suffrage Association were reputed to be joining the Free Trade Association.[223] O'Connor himself, after being defeated[224] by Cobden in a public debate in August 1844 largely dropped his hostility to repeal; and the Chartist Convention of 22 December 1845 endorsed this decision.[225] In February 1844 Malcolm McFarlane had given a lecture on the evils of the Corn Laws in a Chartist Church.[226] A meeting in Glasgow in August 1845 decided to support one free trade candidate and one Complete Suffragist at the next election.[227] Moreover, throughout the period the Complete

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(220) Ibid. 1 Dec. 1842: The Conference itself (27 Dec. 1842) was a failure, disunion still being strong, causing the Argus to lament ' . . . . The expectations of those who believed that good would arise from the Complete Suffrage movement have thus been completely frustrated'. Ibid. 2 Jan. 1843.

(221) e.g. Pattison as a delegate for Rutherglen; McEwen for Pollockshaws and Rutherglen. Northern Star, 31 Dec. 1842.

(222) G. J. Harney, 'A Northern Tour', ibid. 2 Sept. 1843.

(223) Ibid. 15 April 1843.

(224) Though he maintained that the meeting had favoured him, and the chair had given the decision against him. Ibid. 10 Aug. 1844.

(225) Ibid. 27 Dec. 1845.

(226) Ibid. 24 Feb. 1844.

(227) Wright, op.cit. pp. 166-7. In Salford in 1841 Chartists had supported the Anti-Corn Law representative, Brotherton. Northern Star, 10 July 1841. Nor was political co-operation with the middle classes unknown in Glasgow: in October 1842, the electors of the first district chose George Anderson, Chartist and David Bell one of the retiring members as candidates for the municipal elections. Ibid. 22 Oct. 1842.

Suffragists and Chartists made continuing attempts to resolve their differences though without success. Thus in February 1844, the Complete Suffragists wanted as a condition of their joining with the Chartists, the Chartists to denounce O'Connor and the Northern Star. Reconciliation also broke down over the question of the Glasgow Chartists' approbation of English Chartists and their opposition to League meetings.(228)

Accordingly given the amount of moderation, and the fact that other agitations were drawing support from Chartists (such as the factory movement where Allan McFadyen(229) and Malcolm McFarlane were prominent)(230) it was hardly surprising that 1848 should pass by relatively peacefully; despite the fears of the authorities,(231) and despite the fact that 100,000 operatives were unemployed, and 20,000 were on short time.(232)

Distrubances did take place - looting and rioting - but it is generally agreed that this had nothing to do with the Chartists.(233) Even the Conservative press did not see the riots of 6 March 1848 where a march of the unemployed ended in looting, as revolutionary.(234) Examination of the sixty-four people arrested revealed no unusual 'desperadoes' (see Table XXI).

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(228) Northern Star, 9, 17 Feb. 1844. There was a similar meeting on 6 Dec. 1844. Argus, 9 Dec. 1844.

(229) McFadyen (sometimes spelt 'McFadzean') was the Secretary of the Ten Hours Committee.

(230) See below Chapter VI.

(231) Lord Advocate's Papers AD58/71 Riots and Civil Disturbances.

(232) Tait's Edin. Mag., N.S. Vol. 15, Feb. 1848, p. 143.

(233) 'it would appear that the public meeting of the destitute unemployed was taken advantage of by a band of blackguards intent upon plunder, who seized upon the occasion in order with impugnity to run riot on the property of their neighbours.' Saturday Post, 11 Mar. 1848.

(234) Courier, 7 Mar. 1848; Herald, 13 Mar. 1848 quoted in Scotsman, 15 Mar. 1848: ' . . . these disgraceful proceedings received neither countenance nor sympathy from the hard-working and industrious classes of the community.'

TABLE XXI(235)

Age		Nationality		Religion	
18 and under	14	Scottish	24	Protestant	34
18 - 25	27	English	2	R.C.	26
25 - 30	11	Irish	36	Unitarian	1
30+	12	Foreign	2	None	3

Occupations	
Labourers	23
Weavers	10
Shoemakers	5
Blacksmiths	2
Tailors	2
Joiners	1
Masons	1
Cotton Spinners	2
Miscellaneous	18

Education	
Can read well	25
Read with difficulty	19
Cannot read at all	20

Employed	38
Unemployed	26

In composition, it resembled any 'bread riot' crowd at any point in time - as the Herald said: 'Several of the individuals included in the return, there can be no doubt, became actors in the riot more by accident than design, and at least two of them had only come to Glasgow in search of employment on the day it occurred.'(236)

Once again the most impressive themes in the proceedings were those of moderation and class co-operation. Statements of class conflict and hostility could still be found as from Moir at a meeting on 29 February 1848 held to congratulate France on the success of its revolution and to adopt resolutions in accordance with the People's Charter. 'Depend upon it,' he thundered, 'that the Russells and Normanbys, and the others of the administration who have cheated us of the fruits of the Reform Bill, are looking forward with fear and trembling to the ultimate result of all this . . . . Will you sub-

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(235) Herald, 13 Mar. 1848 quoted in Scotsman, 15 Mar. 1848.
(236) Ibid.

mit longer to the rule of the representatives of the shopocracy, the rule of bricks and mortar? (No!) . . . now is the time to agitate for your rights, . . . where . . . are now the rank political imposters of our town who came before you in former times - the ardent promoters of our last mock revolution, which resulted in the Reform Bill - where are now your Bankier's, your Tom Davidson's etc.? . . . (Laughter).(237)

These were strong, stirring words, but it is doubtful whether they found any wide agreement in the audience. They were perhaps more representative of Moir's eccentricities than of working-class opinion. The operatives themselves seemed to think appeals to physical force would only impress illiterates, while they were confident of their own ability to discern subtleties in oratory. Thus when McDouall at a meeting held on 3 March 1848 had pointed to the buildings in Monteith Row as being produced by the people, the producers of all wealth, Edward Friars, a power-loom tenter recognised that he had not, in so many words, advised the people to resort to physical force, nevertheless, 'illiterate persons might have supposed from the tenor of his discourse that they might be entitled to do so; altho' at the same time he enjoined them all to be peaceable.'(238) Though it is impossible to discern the motives and thoughts of the 'great unwashed' it is possible to say that for the leaders the aim was unity and class co-operation; and once again an organisation, The Electoral Association, was to be set up to further this, since distress and discontent were thought to result from class legislation.(239)

The Electoral Association held its first meeting on 4 April 1848 to press for suffrage extension. The office bearers comprised Chartists

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(237) Moir, meeting 29 Feb. 1848, Saturday Post, 4 Mar. 1848.
(238) Lord Advocate's Papers AD58/79 Riots of the Unemployed Workers in Glasgow 1848. Precognition of E. Friars.
(239) 'Class legislation is the monster we have to cry out against . . .' Saturday Post, 15 April 1848; Meeting of inhabitants 6 June 1848 - embarrassments were due to class legislation, Examiner, 10 June 1848.

and Complete Suffragists in equal numbers. The meeting agreed that all men were equal, and that everyone who contributed to the state was entitled to a voice in its regulations. It wanted the ballot, paid M.Ps., annual parliaments, and no test for a representative other than his moral and intellectual character.(240) Further meetings in April and May reiterated the demand for suffrage extension,(241) universal suffrage(242) and emphasised the identity of interests: ' . . . the protracted sufferings of the middle and working classes of this country are, in a great measure to be attributed to the legislative measures of the government . . . . .'(243)

This identity of interests was also assumed by the working classes, as can be seen in the meeting of the surviving members of the Trades Committee, the Reform Association, the Political Union and accredited delegates from various trades, shops, factories and districts, held on 26 May 1848. The meeting considered forming an association of the working classes to forward the same peaceful organisation through which the Reform Bill had been carried but decided this was unnecessary since there already existed the Electoral Association and the National Charter Association.(244)

The Electoral Association was certainly not an exclusive body of electors as its meetings and resolutions showed: ' . . . this meeting composed of the middle and operative classes, desires and will seek to obtain, by the employment of the most vigorous and peaceful agencies, an extension of the basis of Parliamentary Representation.'(245)

Furthermore peaceful action and moderation were also advocated by the Chartists. At the National Convention in April 1848, James

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(240) Electoral Association 4 April 1848, Examiner, 8 April 1848.
(241) Meeting 18 April 1848, ibid. 22 April 1848; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XCVIII, 22 May 1848, col. 1334.
(242) Meeting 3 May 1848, Examiner, 6 May 1848.
(243) Rattray, ibid.
(244) Meeting 26 May 1848, Saturday Post, 27 May 1848.
(245) Meeting 6 June 1848, Examiner, 10 June 1848.

Adams, the Glasgow delegate counselled temperate and moderate action.(246) He also reported that he had brought 100,000 signatures for the petition, and that in Glasgow the middle classes had begun to fraternise: only publicans had refused aid and subscriptions.(247)

Indeed it may be wondered whether the Chartists were even capable of revolutionary feeling. Judging by their attempts at singing at a meeting held on 17 April 1848 they were not:

> In the course of the proceedings an attempt was made to sing the Marsellaise Hymn, which ended in a most ludicrous failure. Two men were elevated above the others on the platform to strike the key-note and lead the great body of the compatriots in the performance; but there was a sad lack of French enthusiasm - the creaking and tremulous voices of the leaders only tended to excite laughter, and, as the mass of the meeting showed no disposition to join, the chairman at length called upon the leaders to come down, and the attempt was given up.(248)

It would have occasioned no surprise then, when at the Reform Banquet of 5 December 1848, Matthew Cullen, who had progressed from Corn Law repeal in the 1830s to Chartism and class conflict in the 1840s, urged both the middle and working classes to co-operate:

> He called on the men of the middle classes to co-operate with the working classes. He would not ask them to yield to those extreme opinions with which they could not conscientiously agree, but he would ask all classes to join to remedy the numerous ills with which they were afflicted (Cheers). He called on the class to which he belonged to throw aside their prejudices, that all might act together for the public welfare. Let all act harmoniously, and their grievances could be redressed. This was the object of the meeting.(249)

The object was accomplished over the following years.(250) On 27 August 1849 a public meeting was held to sympathise with the Hungarians

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(246) Scotsman, 15 April 1848.
(247) Ibid. 8 April 1848.
(248) Courier, quoted in Scotsman, 19 April 1848.
(249) Cullen, Reform Banquet 5 Dec. 1848. Examiner, 9 Dec. 1848.
(250) e.g. When O'Connor was threatening to retire from public life, W. Mackie secretary of the Calton Charter Association urged him to reconsider especially in the light of the growing co-operation between the classes. Northern Star, 4 Aug. 1849.

and memorialise Victoria on their behalf. At this class co-operation was evident with James Turner called to the chair by George Ross.(251)

The movement for Parliamentary and Financial Reform continued this co-operation.(252) The leadership of this movement not only contained Chartists and Corn Law Repealers, but also contained a number who had been active in the agitations of the 1830s but had tended not to take an active part during the 1840s. The seventy-eight members of the committee appointed at the meeting of 26 November 1849 contained at least 20 per cent who had been active previously.(253)

This movement wanted household suffrage, the ballot, triennial parliaments, equal electoral districts, and the abolition of money qualifications for M.Ps., seeing these as a means of gaining a more representative house which would reduce taxation. By April 1852, the Glasgow branch of the National Reform League had more than 1000 working-class members.(254)

Another facet of this continuing co-operation was the formation of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association on 22 April 1852 designed to act in harmony with the London Association.(255) And the return to the ideas and practices of the 1830s could be seen on 30 September 1852 when Turner of Thrushgrove again presided over a meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, which had as its programme, household suffrage, the ballot, equal electoral districts, triennial parliaments and no property qualifications for M.Ps.(256)

Chartism in Glasgow then had led to no massive deviation from the 'normal' way of conducting political agitation in the city. Moderation, and a desire for co-operation had once again been marked. As

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(251) Ibid. 1 Sept. 1849.
(252) Even the Northern Star gave support to this movement e.g. ibid. 13, 20 Oct., 1 Dec. 1849.
(253) Saturday Post, 1 Dec. 1849. See also meeting 12 Nov. 1849, ibid. 17 Nov. 1849.
(254) Examiner, 24 April 1852.
(255) Ibid.
(256) Ibid. 2 Oct. 1852.

in Aberdeen,[257] the Chartists had much in common with the Anti-Corn Law movement. A factor possibly accounting for the moderation was the amount of distress prevalent at the time. Glasgow certainly saw distress in the period 1837-48. Being however a city with a great diversity of industry, unlike Paisley, it had perhaps more chance of counteracting distress; it is perhaps significant that it was Paisley that haunted Sir Robert Peel.[258] Distress appeared to be at its height in Glasgow not in 1842 but in 1848: comparing 1847-8 with 1842, despite the fact that the population had only increased by c. 18 per cent, distress in some sectors had more than doubled.[259] In 1842, though it was reported in the Commons that 10,000 were unemployed,[260] and meetings of the unemployed were held on the Green,[261] efforts to relieve distress seem to have been reasonably successful. The Glasgow Bills of Mortality for 1842 stated: 'It may, therefore, be safely said that there were much fewer cases of unrelieved destitution in Glasgow, in 1842, than during any year of ordinary prosperity.'[262] And in 1848, when destitution was worse, the Chartists were quick to exonerate themselves from any share in the 'Bread Riots'. The class war therefore had still not appeared in Glasgow.

V

Just because the radical movement in Glasgow had been characterised by moderation throughout the period, it should not be imagined that

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(257) S. D. McCalman, 'Chartism in Aberdeen', Scot. Lab. Hist. Soc. Journal, No. 2 (1970), pp. 5-24.

(258) ' . . . Paisley, a town that haunted Peel all through 1842, . . .' N. Gash, Sir Robert Peel (London, 1972), p. 358.

(259) S. C. Commercial Distress Part III, P.P., 1848, (565) VIII, 29 May 1848, pp. 415-17.

(260) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. LXIV, 1 July 1842, col. 862.

(261) Argus, 3 Feb., 18 April 1842.

(262) Watt, op.cit. p. 93. See also Argus, 18 April 1842, 'There is no doubt a great amount of destitution in the city; but we understand that the Relief Committee are doing everything in their power to relieve it, by giving work to those able to labour, besides providing rations of bread and soup.'

Glasgow's interest in Chartism and Repeal was substantially less than that of other areas in Britain, or that its contribution to them was unimportant. It is true that after 1842,(263) Glasgow Chartism entered a period of decline and commentators noted the apathy there, for example Moir wrote to O'Connor in July 1844:

> And for Scotland, as a whole, I think I may safely say that while Chartism may be said to have a name to live in it, it is just as nearly dead as may be. In respect to this great city, I could scarcely say with confidence that I know there are three hundred persons taking an active personal interest in the advancement of Chartism. I ask any impartial person if this has any appearance of the people being united?(264)

It is true also that interest tended to be channelled into other agitations such as the factory movement and the Poor Law movement. Nevertheless when fully examined, the amount of continuous agitation over the period was considerable.

As well as the purely Glasgow U.S.A. which met weekly, Glasgow, 'in consideration of its large population'(265) was the headquarters of the Central Committee for Scotland which was formed at the delegate conference of 14-16 August 1839. Of the fifteen members, only John Duncan did not come from the West of Scotland, while nine were well known in Glasgow radical circles.(266) This committee held monthly meetings.

Dissatisfaction with this body led to the formation of the Northern Democratic Association on 3 December 1839, which was willing to envisage a measure of force being used to secure its objects.(267) Every so

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(263) Indeed as early as July 1842, Gillespie complained of the 'apathy and indifference of people' to a meeting in Partick. Northern Star, 6 Aug. 1842.

(264) Ibid. 13 July 1844; see also Harney ibid. 2 Sept. 1843; above p. 218.

(265) Scottish Patriot, 17 Aug. 1839.

(266) The members of the committee were W. Thomson, T. Gillespie, W. Pattison, G. Ross, J. Proudfoot, D. Allan, W. Currie, R. Currie, M. Gilfillan, J. Duncan, J. McGavany, A. O'Neill, M. Cullen, J. Moir. Ibid.

(267) Ibid. 7 Dec. 1839.

often the existing associations tended to dissolve and reconstitute themselves under a new name. Thus in May 1842 the Lanarkshire U.S.A. became the Glasgow Charter Association.(268)

Chartism also thrived in the neighbouring suburbs of Bridgeton, Tollcross, Calton, Parkhead, Anderston, Gorbals, Partick, Springburn, and Blackquarry.(269) Many places had female Chartist associations. In addition a number of trades were organised in the movement, such as cabinet makers, upholsterers, carvers and guilders, piano makers, turners, plumbers, tailors, plasterers, boot and shoe makers, boiler-makers, dressers, twisters, dyers, joiners, house carpenters, brick-layers and masons.(270) These trades, along with the workers in the Port Eglinton carpet factory took part in a procession in September 1840 to celebrate the release from prison of Collins, McDouall and White.(271)

Glasgow also had a Universal Suffrage Electors Association whose chief object was to aid the unenfranchised in their efforts to secure the Charter.(272) In the 1839 by-election however, the U.S. Electors Association remained neutral.(273) O'Connor was nominated and seconded at the hustings but did not go to the poll,(274) and on 24 June 1839 Oswald was elected. In the 1841 general election, Glasgow Chartist opinion was split between those like Moir(275) who believed that the Whigs should be destroyed whatever the cost, and this included Chartists supporting the Tories, and those like Malcolm who 'condemned in rather

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(268) Northern Star, 28 May 1842.
(269) Scottish Patriot, 17 Aug. 1839.
(270) Ibid. 19 Sept. 1840. A notice had been published in Scottish Patriot, 7 Sept. 1839 urging the masons to support their committee to secure their rights.
(271) The United Labourers were also supposed to take part (Ibid. 19 Sept. 1840) but did not do so because the priest had denounced the Chartists from the pulpit. Ibid. 26 Sept. 1840.
(272) True Scotsman, 19 Oct. 1839.
(273) Scots Times, 19 June 1839.
(274) Ibid. 26 June 1839.
(275) Argus, 8 July 1841.

unmeasured terms'.(276) this proposed policy.(277) The outcome was an agreement to let the electors choose for themselves which course of action to follow.

Along with Moir, George Mills, the son of the Lord Provost and the defeated radical candidate of 1836 presented himself at the hustings where they won on a show of hands.(278) Only Mills however proceeded to the poll where he received 355 votes, many of which were Tory.(279)

Nor was Chartist activity confined solely to political matters: the Partick Chartists had an 'Education Club' which opened five nights a week between 7.45 and 9.45 p.m. This taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography. To be eligible for membership, the candidate had either to be a member of a U.S.A. or the child of such a member.(280)

As far as national activity was concerned, Glasgow contributed to the petitions, the conferences and funds. The 1839 petition, for example received 90,000 signatures in Glasgow.(281) Attendance at conferences was sporadic, there being a complete break between 1842-5, when Duncan Sherrington was a delegate at the Land Conference in December 1845. Glasgow had a delegate, Thomas Clark at the Chartist Convention beginning on 3 August 1846;(282) at the Land Conference at Snig's End on 7 August 1849;(283) and sent two delegates to the National

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(276) Northern Star, 26 June 1841.
(277) Though the report in Wilson, op.cit. p. 163 declares Moir was 'hissed and hooted, . . . because he refused to give up his vote to the decision of a public meeting', the Northern Star, 26 June 1841 declares, 'Mr. Moir made his appearance amid loud cheers . . . . He then defended with his usual tact and ability, the necessity of proving to the Whigs, that they, the Chartists, held the balance of power. He concluded amid loud cheering . . .'
(278) Argus, 5 July 1841.
(279) 'List of Tories, Churchmen, and Chartists, who united at the late Glasgow Election and voted for James Campbell and George Mills.'
(280) Northern Star, 26 Sept. 1840.
(281) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XLVIII, 14 June 1839, col. 223.
(282) Northern Star, 8 Aug. 1846.
(283) Ibid. 11 Aug. 1849.

Convention of 3 March 1851,(284) a Convention which the Glasgow Sentinel did not consider had furthered organised Chartism in any way: it believed Chartism had regressed since 1842.(285)

Glasgow sent £100 to the Frost fund.(286) She paid her contributions towards the debts of the 1849 Convention and Assembly.(287) She corresponded regularly with the National Charter Association,(288) a branch of which had been formed in Glasgow in 1851(289) and contributed to it.(290)

Further tribute to Glasgow's importance may be seen in the visits to it by many prominent Chartists. As well as visits by O'Connor,(291) Kydd came to Glasgow on 22-24 May 1849,(292) Ernest Jones on 21 April 1848(293) and 9 October 1850;(294) Bronterre O'Brien on 13 February 1850;(295) Holyoake in May 1851;(296) and Thomas Cooper in the summer of 1851 who, while admitting Scottish audiences were intelligent and critical, complained of the Scots' conceit of their education system and the dreariness of the Sabbath.(297)

Glasgow therefore had played a considerable part in Chartist activity; nor was her contribution to the Anti-Corn Law movement to be any less. If the Anti-Corn Law agitation is studied exclusively from the Manchester angle, then it may seem that Glasgow's contribution was limited to promising money but never paying it.(298) It is true

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(284) Ibid. 12 April 1851.
(285) Glasgow Sentinel, 19 April 1851.
(286) Scottish Patriot, 8 Feb. 1840.
(287) Northern Star, 20 Oct. 1849.
(288) Meeting 2 Mar. 1849, ibid. 10 Mar. 1849.
(289) Ibid. 15 Mar. 1851.
(290) Ibid. 5 April, £1-5-0 (£1.25); 5 July £2-10-0 (£2.50); 18 Oct. £1-10-0 (£1.50), 1851.
(291) See e.g. ibid. 4 Nov. 1843; Examiner, 8 June 1850.
(292) Northern Star, 2 June 1849.
(293) Scotsman, 26 April 1848.
(294) Examiner, 12 Oct. 1850.
(295) Saturday Post, 16 Feb. 1850.
(296) Northern Star, 7 June 1851.
(297) Ibid. 23 Aug. 1851.
(298) League Letter Book, Vol. 2, Nos. 232, 234, 235, 238, 244, 246, 248.

that the Directors of the Glasgow Association themselves complained of apathy in 1840.(299) Nevertheless measured against any place other than Manchester, Glasgow's contribution was by no means unimpressive. It covered a number of aspects: she contributed ideas; sent delegates to all the main conferences; petitioned and acted as a co-ordinating body for petitions and propaganda; held great demonstrations and established other organisations for the furthering of free trade principles such as the Young Men's Free Trade Association and the Operative Corn Law Association.

Firstly ideas. It was in accordance with a suggestion from the Glasgow Association that the first national rally was held. Weir requesting a conference with the Manchester Association to hear their views, suggested that other local groups in Sheffield and the manufacturing districts might be interested. He also sent a number of copies of the Argus to be forwarded to 'popular persons' in Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham and Nottingham.(300) Manchester expanded this idea into a national conference. Glasgow sent delegates to this conference(301) and to all subsequent ones.(302)

The delegates for the London meetings were A. Johnston, W. Weir, C. Todd, J. Dunlop, W. Buchanan, J. Tennant, W. Gemmele (sic), A. Graham.(303) These meetings were taken up with preparing evidence to be heard at the Bar of the House of Commons. The Glasgow Association had already asked

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(299) League Letter Book, Vol. 5, No. 702 D. Murray to A. Prentice 21 July 1840.

(300) 'It is most desirable that the friends of free trade throughout the empire should avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by your festival to become acquainted with each other, in order that a closer and more energetic co-operation to promote their common interests may be ensured for the future.' League Letter Book, Vol. 1, No. 31, Weir to J. Chapman. 9 Jan. 1839.

(301) 22 Jan. 1839. A. Prentice, History of the Anti-Corn Law League (London, 1853), Vol. I, p. 97.

(302) London, 4 Feb. 1839; League, 7 Mar. 1839; Manchester, 13 Jan. 1840; Conference of Ministers of Religion 17 Aug. 1841; London Association, 8 Feb. 1842; Ministers of Religion, 3 Feb. 1843. Prentice, op.cit. Vol. I, pp. 97, 107, 120, 145, 235, 244, 305 Vol. II, p. 23.

(303) Scots Times, 2 Feb. 1839.

for a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Manchester Association as evidence to be adduced in the House.(304) Todd's firm - Todd and Higginbotham sent an extract of their accounts,(305) showing a great decrease in their trade with the Zollverein, which they attributed to German retaliation against Britain's refusal to allow the import of German food. Johnston was one of the delegates to wait on Melbourne.(306)

Along with such support, Glasgow also sent petitions,(307) and acted as a co-ordinating body for petitions from the surrounding areas,(308) and for propaganda: the Anti-Corn Law Circular was distributed among booksellers at trade prices 'as the most efficient method of getting them into circulation'.(309)

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that interest in the question was not exactly keeping Glasgow awake at night. Even the Association itself was forced to recognise this: 'The Committee were still of opinion that there is too much apathy here to do any good by opening an office.'(310) To try to remedy such a state of affairs, great demonstrations were held in 1841, 1842, 1843 and 1844. At the 1843 demonstration the freedom of the city was given to Cobden.(311) The Association

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(304) League Letter Book, Vol. 1, No. 75. David Murray to J. Chapman, 28 Jan. 1839. Nor did Glasgow hesitate to criticise the League's rules and offer suggestions, see ibid. Vol. 2, No. 169, Weir to J. B. Smith, 23 April 1839.

(305) Ibid. Vol. 1, No. 103. Letter from Todd and Higginbotham, 16 Feb. 1839.

(306) Scots Times, 13 Feb. 1839.

(307) e.g. Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XLIII, 2 July 1838, col. 1170; Vol. XLVI, 12 Mar. 1839, col. 323; Vol. LVIII, 8, 21 June 1841, cols. 1304, 1528; Vol. LX, 24 Feb. 1842, col. 1002; Vol. LXI, 15, 17 Mar. 1842, cols. 583, 722, 755; Vol. LXIII, 23 May 1842, col. 598; Vol. LXV, 12 Aug. 1842, col. 1305. The 1843 petition had 65,555 signatures. Argus, 4 May 1843.

(308) Anti-Corn Law Circular, 2 April 1840 recorded over 100 petitions had been received in the previous eight days from villages and public works via the Glasgow Association.

(309) League Letter Book, Vol. 2, No. 169, Weir to J. B. Smith, 23 April 1839.

(310) Ibid. Vol. 5, No. 702. D. Murray to A. Prentice, 21 July 1840.

(311) Demonstration 11 Jan. 1843, Argus, 12 Jan. 1843.

always tried to get 'big names' such as Cobden, and Fox Maule to promote interest. They established a Young Men's Free Trade Association on 20 January 1842 and an Operatives' Anti-Corn Law Association in 1843. Both of these held meetings though it is doubtful whether they had any great effect.

Meetings continued to be held till repeal was granted in 1846, and money was eventually paid to the Manchester Association: on 9 December 1843, £2531 was subscribed;(312) a banquet in the City Hall on 10 January 1844 led to £3000 being collected;(313) at a meeting on 15 January 1846 Glasgow subscribed £10,000.(314) She also took part in money drives, e.g. having a stall at the Bazaar in Covent Garden Theatre on 8 May 1845.(315) This may not have amounted to a great deal, but it was considerably more than happened in certain prominent English cities such as Birmingham or Nottingham where the agitation tended to go into hibernation for far longer periods than happened in Glasgow.

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(312) Prentice, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 134.
(313) Ibid. Vol. II, p. 148.
(314) Ibid. Vol. II, p. 418.
(315) Ibid. Vol. II, p. 332.

CHAPTER VI

THE FACTORY MOVEMENT

I

In their campaigns for political reforms, Glasgow radicals had shown maturity, rationality and an ability to compromise. They had sought on the whole moderate rather than extreme solutions. Political reforms however, though often bearing directly on a man's situation were not so obviously relevant to his everyday life as living conditions, wages and employment. Consequently it is worthwhile examining the factory movement where these more bread and butter issues were involved.

Inquiry is all the more worthwhile since there is some controversy about the factory movement among historians. J. T. Ward in discussing the factory movement in Scotland,(1) has pointed out that most historians have been willing to follow Marwick's lead: 'Scotland offers no peculiar features in this respect.'(2) From Ward's investigation it would appear that agitation in Glasgow was somewhat sporadic and effete.(3) The ineffectualness of the movement is explained by a lack of Tory support due to the liberal domination of Scottish political life in the post Reform era.(4) This chapter seeks to examine such assertions more fully; to see where, and if at all, the Glasgow factory movement differed from other places, and to describe the main characteristics of the agitation.

II

Interest in a shortening of hours was present before the birth

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(1) J. T. Ward, 'The Factory Reform Movement in Scotland' S.H.R., XLI (1962), pp. 100-23.
(2) W. H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland (London, 1936), p. 154, not p. 153 as Ward, op.cit. p. 100 cites.
(3) ' . . . operatives' agitation continued intermittently and rather hopelessly', Ward, op.cit. p. 103.
(4) Ibid. p. 122.

of an organised movement.(5) Daniel McAulay (one of the leading spirits in the factory agitation) and John Stewart wrote to Peel on 20 February 1830 asking for the regulation of working hours in power-loom factories, on the grounds that this would ensure a fairer distribution of work. They would rather that all had some work, than that some receive high wages and others none. To ensure this they suggested two courses of action. One was the extension of Hobhouse's 1825 Act: an Act which forbade night work between 8 p.m. and 5 a.m. and limited hours on Saturdays to nine ending at 4.30 p.m. During the half-hour for breakfast (between 6.30 and 10 a.m.) and the hour for dinner (between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.) work was prohibited. Mills employing workers aged under sixteen had to enter the name of any child whom the occupier thought might be under the age of nine in a book, together with the parents' names. The parent had to sign a statement that the child was above the minimum age. The employer was thus exempted from legal proceedings should the child be proved to be under age.(6)

Failing this, they requested a special act for power-loom weaving factories limiting labour to twelve hours per day including an hour each for breakfast and dinner. This 'would thereby operate powerfully in causing the works which are now totally idle to be put on, the hands to be more generally employed and by that means once more restore the industrious operative to the rank which he ought to hold in society'.(7) Peel doubted whether any good would come of this and took no action.(8) Nevertheless the request showed a certain amount of maturity, since it implied that the poorer operatives would be shored up at the expense of the richer; and represented an embryonic tradition of appealing to the

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(5) Robert Owen had of course advocated shorter hours in 1815.
(6) For the full provisions of this act see M. W. Thomas, The Early Factory Legislation (London, 1948), pp. 28-29.
(7) H.O. 102/40 : 220.
(8) H.O. 103/6 : 370. 27 Feb. 1830.

legislature for shorter hours as early as 1830. At the same time, the Unstamped were also publicising the abuses of the system(9) and petitions were forwarded: on 5 July 1830 Hobhouse presented one from the cotton spinners complaining of labour in the cotton factories.(10) There was then, an indigenous agitation already evident in Glasgow in the course of 1830; and this before the entry on the English scene of Oastler, before the publication of his celebrated letter on 'Yorkshire Slavery' and before the development of large scale agitation in 1831.

National agitation could be said to have started with Hobhouse's bill in the spring of 1831. This aimed to ban children from factories before the age of nine. Those aged between nine and eighteen were to work no more than eleven and a half hours a day and eight and a half on Saturdays, with a break of half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, i.e. a sixty-six hour week. Night work, between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. for those aged under eighteen was to be forbidden.

If gauged simply from references to this bill in the Stamped press, the strength of the Glasgow movement does appear to be half-hearted. For example, the Courier printed notice of the bill but declined to give any editorial comment,(11) and the Herald did likewise.(12) When, however, the evidence from the Unstamped is also taken into account, a different picture emerges. The Herald to the Trades Advocate displayed sentiments similar both to those of Oastler and to those of the 1833 Factory Commission Report: '. . . this is certainly worse than West India Slavery! . . . Hail ye anti-slavery committee; petition for slavery! banish at home ere ye think of it abroad'.(13) This was the inflammatory appeal to emotion, but there

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(9) e.g. H.T.A., 16 Oct., 13, 27 Nov. 1830.
(10) Hansard, N.S., Vol. XXV, 5 July 1830, col. 949.
(11) Courier, 1, 3 Mar. 1831.
(12) Herald, 4 Mar. 1831.
(13) H.T.A., 13 Nov. 1830.

was also the reasoned attack which maintained that factory conditions brought disease and left no leisure time for cultivating the mind.(14)

The Herald to the Trades Advocate was not content merely to bring conditions to its readers' notice, it exhorted direct action (a point of contrast with the Stamped press). On the amendment of Hobhouse's bill, which had been emasculated to apply only to cotton factories in which the working day for those aged nine to eighteen was extended to twelve hours and nine on Saturdays, i.e. a sixty-nine hour week, while night work was forbidden between the hours of 8.30 p.m. and 5 a.m., and machinery for enforcement was still lacking, it counselled renewed petitioning.(15) Whether or not as a result of this, a petition was adopted which Hobhouse agreed to present.(16) At this stage then, a movement did exist, backed by a press organ,(17) and able to mobilise its energies into petitions. This energy subsequently became channelled into associations to enforce the legislation once passed.(18)

Such action was completely in line with Oastler's advice as given in 'To the Working Classes of the West Riding' published in the Leeds Intelligencer of 20 October 1831. This suggested public meetings should be called, petitions prepared and every effort made to ensure that firm supporters of a Time Bill were returned at elections(19) - precisely what Glasgow attempted in the 1832 election. The eighth

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(14) Ibid. 23 April 1831.
(15) Ibid. Supplements I, IV.
(16) Ibid. Supplement III; Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. V, 30 July 1831, col. 558.
(17) Recourse was also taken to the Stamped press: John Tait in Herald, 11 Nov. 1831 reiterated the demand for Ten Hours.
(18) P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q. 5979.
(19) 'In due time call public meetings, and there plead the cause of the poor infant sufferers, and expose the horrors of the factory system; then prepare petitions to parliament, praying it to interfere in the sacred cause of suffering humanity; and, on every election for members of parliament, use your influence throughout the empire to prevent any man returned who will not distinctly and unequivocally pledge himself to support a "Ten Hours a day and a Time-book Bill".'
Fixby, 10 Oct. 1831, quoted in 'Alfred', The History of the Factory Movement (London, 1857), Vol. I, p. 121.

provision of the Declaration of the Trades had demanded a Ten Hour day.(20) A general meeting of the operative cotton spinners of Glasgow and vicinity was held on 31 July 1832 to consider how to support candidates who would support a Time Bill and 'other liberal measures'.

The arguments advanced at the meeting took, as might be expected, the familiar form: long hours were injurious to health and morals, there was no leisure time to acquire knowledge; while shorter hours would improve the workers' condition and raise their value 'by limiting the quantity of production'. James Nish maintained that if the factory system was as well known as West Indian slavery, more would be heard about Glasgow.(21) The amount of education and the abilities of the operatives was apparent in the way McGown refuted the free trade opinions of McCulloch and others, 'from various parliamentary documents copies of which he held in his hands - and concluded a speech, replete with sound sense and true philanthropy . . .'(22)

Further lines of action were laid down: candidates were required to pledge that they would do everything in their power to promote a Ten Hour bill should the bill then pending in Parliament be defeated or postponed. The Trades Committee was to co-operate with the Political Union to this end.

Speakers at this meeting included men who were to become identified with the work of the Short Time Committee: James Dunn, Patrick McGown, Daniel McAulay, James Nish, James Gibb, Neil McVicar and Abram Duncan.(23) It is difficult to be precise about who constituted the Short Time Committee at this juncture, since 1833 is the earliest date for which hard evidence about its composition is available. In 1833

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(20) Free Press, 20 June 1832; see above Chap. III, p. 107.
(21) Nish, meeting 31 July 1832, Scots Times, 4 Aug. 1832.
(22) Ibid. McGown's name sometimes appears as 'McGowan'. For the place of the factory movement in the election, see above Chap. III.
(23) Others taking a prominent part were Richard McNeil, A. Campbell, A. Tait, J. McFie, J. Nibblock. Scots Times, 4 Aug. 1832.

the Short Time Committee consisted of Thomas Steele, yarn dresser, James Dunn, Joseph Dove, William Smith, Daniel Wright, Thomas Atkinson and James Gibb all cotton spinners, Daniel McAulay, power-loom tenter, Alexander Keiller, formerly clerk to a power-loom factory, Charles Rattray, calico printer, George Donald, cotton yarn dresser.(24) Of these eleven men, six were active in other radical causes of the time: McAulay and Keiller being particularly so. One (Rattray) was enfranchised after 1832 and Keiller was probably also enfranchised. Only McAulay and Keiller appear to have been formally affiliated to political organisations: McAulay to both the Political Union and the Reform Association, and Keiller to the Political Union. Three had connections with the Herald to the Trades Advocate. On the whole therefore, the Short Time Committee was not narrow in its outlook, but tended to take an interest in wider issues.

By 1832 then, Glasgow had a more than viable factory movement. This movement needed no fillip from England. After the emasculation of Hobhouse's bill in October 1831, the Glasgow movement was prepared to initiate action on its own behalf to shorten working hours. They had planned to form combinations to limit labour to ten hours a day; circulars had been printed and were about to be distributed.(25) These plans were shelved when Sadler took up the factory question, and agreed to introduce a bill.(26) They decided to assist him rather than 'attempt to legislate for themselves'.(27) This once again demonstrated

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(24) P.P., Supp. Rep. Part I, 15 Mar. 1834, (167) XIX, A1 p. 83, No. 11. (Keiller's name sometimes appears as 'Keillar').

(25) P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q. 6457.

(26) After the 'defeat' of Hobhouse, Sadler became the chief parliamentary exponent of shorter hours. His bill laid down a ten hour day (with eight hours on Saturdays) exclusive of meal times for all aged under eighteen; forbade night work (between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m.) for those aged under twenty-one; and banned children from factories before the age of nine. It also included a new feature - to ensure enforcement a time book was to be kept in every factory.

(27) P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q.6457; see also 'On Abridging the Time of Labour in Factories. In a Letter from the Cotton Spinners of Glasgow, to M. T. Sadler, Esq., M.P.' in London Uni. Collection of Broadsides - Oastler and the Factory Movement 1830-5, 547(7).

the reluctance of the Glasgow operative to opt for an extra-legal solution should a legal one present itself.(28)

Support for Sadler was pledged in a letter sent to him, in which the familiar arguments were reiterated: if unrestricted capital and machinery were good in themselves, why was there poverty?; foreign competition would not be a problem since superior British resources and facilities enabled Britain to undersell its competitors. They asked for a working week of ten hours for five days and seven hours on Saturdays. They also sent an 'Address to the Cotton Spinners of the United Kingdom' telling them to read the above letter and support Sadler.

The way in which Sadler was to be supported was clearly laid down:

> . . . and not only forward delegates to watch over and attend the Committee, but furnish them with every necessary document, fact, or argument; and also endeavour to engage the good offices of such of our employers as have sufficiently liberal and enlarged views of their own and the interests of their workmen, and the ultimate good of society at large.(29) We the more particularly urge the propriety of sending delegates from every quarter, their presence being absolutely necessary in meeting face to face those who may offer opposition, or by insidious misrepresentation entirely frustrate the measure. Every district or trade interested in reducing their labour ought to strain every energy to have delegates examined before the Committee.(30)

This was signed on behalf of the cotton spinners by John Nibblock, Patrick McGown, James Dunn, Lauchlin McQuarrie, Peter Hackett, Robert Crawfurd, James Nish.(31)

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(28) ' . . . perhaps the illegality of combining great bodies of men, comprising various branches of trade, with a view to legislate for themselves on a scale sufficiently extensive - the more readily induces us to suspend the proceedings which were in progress among ourselves to abridge labour, and await the issue of your endeavours in Parliament, . . .' 'On Abridging the Time . . .'

(29) They did not therefore look on the masters with unrelenting hostility, convinced they were inevitable and implacable enemies.

(30) 'On Abridging the Time . . .'

(31) Not McNish as Ward, op.cit. p. 107 states.

In line with their own advice, the Glasgow Short Time Committee had collected evidence. They had endeavoured to ascertain how many people were engaged in cotton production.(32) They had studied the effects of working conditions on factory children,(33) and on adults using a sample of 1600 men.(34) They realised they might be open to the charge of misrepresenting the situation and had therefore canvassed the views of the masters. They had done so by appointing two men to call on the masters (the masters having been previously warned that such a visit was to take place). The result of this inquiry was held to be that the masters with one or two exceptions were favourable to the measure, but would not promise to support it. Indeed one master told them that he would inform them when a meeting of the masters was called, so that they could attend it; while he himself would support the measure at that meeting.(35) The fact that masters had petitioned against the measure,(36) was glossed over by maintaining these men must have belonged to power-loom mills.(37)

The movement then had spokesmen who were able to articulate definite grievances, which they had ascertained through the collection of evidence made by committees. Moreover the evidence was not confined to operatives but also encompassed the masters' views. More than that it drew on men with knowledge of conditions in France; this enabled it to answer the charge that a reduction of hours would mean that foreign competition would ruin the British market.

As spokesmen before the Sadler Committee James McNish and William Smith were chosen. Their expenses were paid by the Short Time Committee.(38)

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(32) P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q.6273.
(33) 'It is my own opinion, and I have heard it expressed by those who have paid attention to the subject in our committees, that there are two years' difference between the appearance and growth of a factory child, and of a child not employed in a factory.' Ibid. Q. 6344.
(34) Ibid. Q. 6348.
(35) Ibid. Q. 6385.
(36) Hansard, 3rd ser.; Vol. X, 7 Mar. 1832, col. 1223; Vol. XI, 15 Mar. 1832, col. 242.
(37) P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q. 6387.
(38) P.P., 1833, (450) XX, Part I, A1, p. 83.

McNish and Smith painted a picture of reasoned logical agitation on behalf of a measure that could only do good.(39) According to McNish, agitation had been brought to a head by the realisation that the slave population was protected,(40) and in a much superior material state; that the chance of an education was being lost (and education was of course revered: ' . . . I am greatly afraid that the fame that Scotland has hitherto got for education, will fast diminish, if this factory system continues unregulated . . .');(41) and that the operatives' property which consisted almost solely of their labour was unprotected.(42)

At the same time to give point to their arguments and show the necessity of parliamentary intervention, Smith revealed the 'extremist' side of the movement: 'If that evil is not suddenly checked, I am much afraid that the Parliament of this country will soon be called upon to legislate for a people tenfold more dangerous in their habits, and ignorant in their minds than the present.'(43) The threat of legislating for themselves was also voiced: ' . . . if any longer neglected, they will have no alternative but to legislate for themselves, the evils of which will be very hurtful to the country at large.'(44) Though redress was still expected to come via Parliament.(45)

As far as the actual agitation for Sadler's bill was concerned, meetings were held where again this question of self-legislation was raised;(46) petitions both for and against the measure were presented(47)

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(39) e.g. McNish maintained that they did not work so well in long hours; education was being severely hampered; the system was bad morally; and there was no danger of competition from France or the U.S.A. Smith similarly maintained that the hours under Hobhouse's Act were too long for children, that proportionately more work was done in ten hours than in twelve, that they did not work so well in the last hour, and that a reduction in hours would not endanger foreign trade. P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q. 6029-30, 6076, 6096, 6352-6364, 6388, 6408, 6414.

(40) cf. Smith, ibid. Q. 6234.

(41) Ibid. Q. 6054.

(42) J. McNish, ibid. Q. 6457.

(43) W. Smith, ibid. Q. 6232.

(44) Ibid. Q. 6235.

(45) Ibid. Q. 6236.

(46) e.g. P.P., 1833, (450) XX, A1, p. 103, A2, p.58.

(47) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. X, 28 Feb. 1832, col. 894; 7 Mar. 1832, col. 1221; Vol. XII, 16 April 1832, col. 495; against the bill, Vol. X; 7 Mar. 1832, col. 1223.

(including one containing 30,000 signatures for the measure);[48] and the factory question was incorporated in the general celebrations at the triumph of Parliamentary Reform. Factory children joined the Procession of 28 September 1832 carrying a flag 'nine feet by twelve, the ground of it was white, and on either side was a full length portrait of Mr. SADLER. He was represented as holding the Ten Hour Bill in his left hand, and his right hand rested upon the head of a Factory Child, who had nothing on but his shirt and trousers - his shirt sleeves being tucked up for his work. His appearance was sickly and emanciated (sic), and the little fellow seemed to have his eyes fixed upon the Ten Hours' Bill, with much delight. The motto above the figure was - "Mr. Sadler, the champion of the Factory Children", - and below it was written - "The Man of Feeling" - and the letters were done with GOLD . . .'[49] All of which was good emotive propaganda designed to bring home the factory question to as wide a range of people as possible.

The factory system was similarly put in a wider setting by the Radical Reformers' Gazette. In November 1832 it concluded that, because of the other existing evils, the operatives must ask for regulation and deprecated James Oswald's refusal[50] to support this:

> If there were no corn laws, no tithes, no land tax, no swindling paper money, no bounties, no law of primogeniture, nor of entail, if none of these things existed, then we should denounce all legislative interference to protect labour, as partial and unjust. But when the very contrary of this is the case, and all property is protected except labour, and every other interest is encouraged by legislative enactments save that of the labourer . . . who . . . would still maintain that the factory bill is unasked for.[51]

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(48) P.P., 1832, (706) XV, Q. 6460.
(49) The British Labourer's Protector and Factory Child's Friend, 12 Oct. 1832.
(50) Oswald moved an amendment that the period of labour should not be limited as proposed by the bill to nine hours on Saturdays. It should be left to employers to make it twelve as on other days, if they so chose. This was agreed to at that time. Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XX, 9 Aug. 1832, col. 452. Oswald never became a supporter of shorter hours.
(51) R.R.G., 17 Nov. 1832.

By the end of 1832 then, when Sadler was no longer in Parliament to pioneer his legislation Glasgow had shown that it was taking a real and important interest in the factory question. It had used all the means at its disposal - meetings, petitions, addresses - to ensure that the cause would be heard. It had tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to secure M.Ps. friendly to the cause, and had used any other agitation of the time (such as that over the Reform Bill) as a means of publicising its grievances. It kept in touch with English developments, following and adapting where necessary Oastler's proposals. Despite the loss of Sadler, the operatives had no doubt that his bill was necessary to protect workmen,(52) and were ready to continue the agitation.

Some idea of the degree of commitment to the factory movement can be gleaned from an examination of the evidence collected by the 1833 Factory Commission. This revealed 46.5 per cent of those giving evidence were in favour of shorter hours,(53) 47.7 per cent were 'neutral' and 3.3 per cent were against.(54) Support was extensive: the 46.5 per cent in favour probably underestimates the degree of support, since the 47.7 per cent classed as 'neutral' were not always expressing 'indifference'. Many merely confined their evidence to the effect the work had on their health. Such evidence is all the more impressive when it is realised that it did not come solely from operatives. Thirty-three people from the managerial side (e.g. foremen, masters, managers, proprietors), five surgeons, nine teachers, three ministers of religion, one police superintendent and three handloom weavers also expressed their opinions with the following results (Tables XXII and XXIII).

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(52) e.g. McAulay, Saturday (Evening) Post, 29 Dec. 1832.
(53) Twenty-six per cent of this group did make the proviso that they only favoured shorter hours, if wages were not correspondingly cut.
(54) This does not add up to 100 per cent, since there were 2.5 per cent who either did not think a reduction of hours would be desired if wages fell, or 'did not know'.

TABLE XXII

In Favour - 44.5%
'Neutral' - 38.9%
Against - 16.6%
Total - 100%

TABLE XXIII

the same data broken down by occupation in %

Occupation	For	Neutral	Against
Managerial	33	39.5	27.5
Surgeon	100	0	0
Teacher	78	22	0
Minister	33	67	0
Hand-Loom Weaver	0	100	0
Policeman	0	100	0

What is most impressive is that only 27.5 per cent of the managerial category expressed definite hostility to the idea of shorter hours. The Commission itself had not expected manufacturers to be originating schemes for curtailing labour, but significantly even here, as the Commissioners noted, a lack of outright hostility can be seen:

> . . . it is only by a reference to their [manufacturers] incidental admissions or suggestions, as contained in some of these Answers, that the practicability and expediency of a separation of infant from adult labour, in point of duration, may be inferred as collected. But the admissions and suggestions to that effect, proceeding as they do from manufacturers who possess extensive practical experience, and whose immediate interest is rather opposed than favourable to the change in question, must be considered as outweighing the objections which, where they do not simply assert absolute impracticability, resolve themselves into considerations of inconvenience and expense to the manufacturer, and of reduced earnings for the younger children of the operatives . . .(55)

(55) P.P., Supp. Rep. Part I, 15 Mar. 1834, (167) XIX, p. 3.

Thus Thomas Bain, manager of Lancefield Spinning Co. hoped night work would be prohibited;(56) Andrew Monach of Andrew Monach's (Cotton Spinning) favoured no work for children under the age of twelve;(57) Alexander Arthur, manager of Messrs. Dougal MacPhail and Co. favoured increasing the time for breakfast and dinner from three-quarters of an hour to an hour;(58) George Macleroy, manager of Messrs. James Oswald & Co. adduced a witness strongly in favour of the movement.(59) On the whole then, there was a definite body of opinion, not confined to operatives, who were favourable to shorter hours.

Consequently in the winter of 1832-3 the movement continued their local campaign and encouraged the national movement.(60) Locally the campaign ran on the traditional lines of meetings and petitions. At a meeting on 5 February 1833 in Portland Street, the newly formed Women's Power-Loom Association(61) pledged their support.(62) (Factory agitation therefore was not merely the prerogative of men but covered

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(56) P.P., 1833, (450) XX, A2 (60), p. 58.
(57) Ibid. A2 (61), p. 59.
(58) Ibid. A1, XL, p. 75.
(59) He adduced John Arthur who had petitioned for the Ten Hour bill, and who would rather work for ten hours even if it meant less wages. He was also a member of the Cotton Spinners' Association and believed that working in cotton mills weakened children, since the family of a mill worker always had an unhealthy 'feeble appearance'. Ibid. A1, XLII, p. 82.
Of course the other side was also represented: William McGill was adduced, maintaining that he would want the same wages for shorter hours, otherwise he was unfavourable. Similarly Thomas Scott, manager of Henry Monteith & Co. knew nothing of Hobhouse's 1831 Act, and though the mill did work a sixty-nine hour week, he had never been ordered to keep a time book according to the terms of Hobhouse's Act. Ibid. A1, XLIII, L, pp. 86, 95.
(60) 'Minutes, Resolutions etc. etc. A Meeting of Delegates from the Committees of the Manufacturing Districts, established for the furtherance and support of Mr. Sadler's Factories' Regulation Bill; Bradford Fri. 11 Jan. 1833.' London Uni. Oastler and the Factory Movement 1830-3. Glasgow was represented by letter at this conference. Ibid. XV.
(61) The Association was formed from a meeting of 1000 female delegates from works in Glasgow and an eighteen mile radius of it, 'for their mutual protection against the encroachment of tyrannical overseers, and the reduction of masters'. It had a secretary, treasurer and committee of twelve nominated for one month as a provisional government. The weekly subscription was ½d. (0.25p). Sick pay and unemployment benefits were envisaged. Argus, 22 Feb. 1833.
(62) Courier, 9 Feb. 1833.

the whole industry.) As this body claimed to represent 12,498 power looms,(63) it was clearly not negligible - a fact which the British Labourer's Protector and Factory Child's Friend appreciated: 'The females employed in factories there [Glasgow], have associated themselves. Let this be done everywhere and the battle ends.'(64)

On 20 February 1833 a meeting on the factory system was held at which most of the Short Time Committee spoke. The speakers made the now 'traditional' case for legislative interference, though of course this intervention should not cover free agents - adults - but only children. The children's plight was compared with that of the West Indian slave and the clergy were urged to intervene. It was pointed out that America could not compete, therefore trade would not be ruined. Once again there was an element of self-help or militancy - Alexander Campbell announced that his trade - the joiners and house carpenters had resolved to work no more than ten hours.(65)

A feature of the agitation was to be petitions and addresses. Lord Wynford presented a petition from a Glasgow Congregation in favour of the factory bill;(66) the operatives forwarded a petition to Lord Ashley.(67) After Wilson Patten's objection in the Commons to legislating on the basis of the Sadler Committee, and his demand for a further inquiry, a meeting was held on 17 April 1833 to address the King against the appointment of another commission of enquiry. An address was drawn up, suggesting the proposal for a new commission be refused, or if already granted be recalled. This address was to be presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury.(68)

Glasgow's interest in the factory movement however, was not confined to those who desired reform. The opposing school of thought was

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(63) Argus, 22 Feb. 1833.
(64) British Labourer's Protector . . ., 15 Mar. 1833.
(65) Free Press, 26 Feb. 1833; Scottish Guardian, 26 Feb. 1833; Argus, 22 Feb. 1833.
(66) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XVI, 25 Mar. 1833, col. 995.
(67) Argus, 18 Mar. 1833.
(68) Ibid. 18 April 1833.

represented in the organisation of the masters who also resorted to meetings, addresses and petitioning. On 1 March 1833 the Glasgow master cotton-spinners under their chairman Kirkman Finlay (a man who had been a staunch opponent of factory legislation since 1818) published a series of resolutions: a reduction of hours would injure trade and the operatives (through necessary reduction of wages); the existing law was already being observed in Scotland in contrast to England; since it was impossible to enforce the existing law, there was no point in trying to effect a more restrictive one. The committee were to do everything in their power to prevent the measure, and a petition embodying the resolutions immediately sent to Oswald to forward to the Commons.(69)

Both schools of opinion re factory legislations were reflected in the Glasgow press. The major Glasgow papers at this time - the Courier, the Argus, the Scottish Guardian, the Scots Times, the Herald, the Free Press, the Chronicle, the Glasgow Evening Post - represented the following viewpoints. The Courier, after passing through 1830 with no opinion - it printed both notices of meetings held against the factory system, and articles denying there was anything wrong with it(70) - by 1832 was printing strongly prejudicial articles in favour of reform, though these were almost always abridged and carried little or no editorial comment.(71) A temporary change in its views occurred in March-April 1833 when it dismissed the evidence collected by Sadler on the grounds that it was based on incidents occurring in silk, flax and woollen mills which were outwith the law. It now supported Finlay's resolutions of 1 March 1833: ' . . . it must be

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(69) Courier, 2 Mar. 1833; Glasgow Evening Post, 2 Mar. 1833; Herald, 4 Mar. 1833. Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XVI, 25 Mar. 1833, col. 1002. Oswald maintained the commission or a committee was necessary otherwise justice would not be done to the manufacturers.

(70) e.g. Courier, 15 April, 3 June 1833.

(71) Ibid. 18 Feb., 20 Mar. 1832 etc. A notable exception was its comment of 3 Mar. 1832 when it hoped for no delay in passing Sadler's bill.

obvious to the most unthinking, that any farther (sic) restrictions on the respectable masters in this quarter, who have all along conformed to the law, must be ruinous, and is surely uncalled for until existing enactments can be put generally in force.'(72) Finlay's letter to The Times of 4 April 1833, though receiving full coverage, received no editorial comment.(73) By 1836 the Courier was again firmly in favour of the movement, but its attitude from then on tended to see-saw.

The Herald took the opposite view. It firmly agreed with Finlay(74) as did the Chronicle.(75) The Herald could see little value in the legislation, since it was bound to be evaded, and was obviously merely another manifestation of that 'change' which optimists called progress and disguised as 'benevolence' but which the Herald thought could only lead to new evils since manufacturers would be forced to employ older children thus depriving younger ones of what was often a vital part of the family income: 'In the present spirit of the times, everything, if it only have the appearance of benevolence, is carried to excess, and remote consequences are never taken into consideration. It would be well that copies of all petitions for material changes should be kept on record, that when evils did arise from the new measures, the sufferers might know to whom they ought to apply for relief.'(76)

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(72) Ibid. 2 Mar. 1833.
(73) This letter called on Ashley to compel factory owners to adhere to the existing laws before he attempted to pass a more restrictive one. Sadler had denied factory owners a chance to state their case. If cotton factories were to be regulated, cotton operatives would soon be as badly off as hand-loom weavers. Finlay also maintained there was no proof that a twelve hour day damaged health, indeed the reverse was true - there was no one more healthy than a cotton operative. Quoted in ibid. 16 April 1833.
(74) Herald, 4 Mar. 1833.
(75) Chronicle quoted in Courier, 23 Mar. 1833.
(76) Herald, 21 June 1833.

The Scottish Guardian presented a Christian, humanitarian approach[77] though experiencing some difficulty with the economics of the problem. It asserted firmly that trade would not suffer,[78] but if wages did fall, then the operatives were well paid anyway.[79] While the Scots Times favoured restricting children's hours but not adults.[80]

The Argus, the Glasgow Evening Post and the Free Press, all put the problem in a wider setting.[81] The Argus and the Glasgow Evening Post sanctioned legislative interference for children but not for adults and thought that the agitation was merely a subterfuge to reduce adults' hours.[82] All used the factory reform movement and system to call attention to more general grievances: the Glasgow Evening Post that repeal of the Corn Laws was also needed;[83] the Free Press that the evils were to a large extent inherent in the capitalist system, and that sinecures should be abolished;[84] while the Argus made all these points and reflected laissez-faire attitudes:

> . . . diminish taxation and throw trade free from the shackles which cramp and restrain the full development of its power. Make a selfish and heartless aristocracy bear its due share of the national burdens, retrench expenditure to the utmost, and then, away with the bread tax, and the wash-tub duty, and all these robberies of the poor men. Away with the taxes on raw material, and extend our commercial intercourse with other nations, as freely as nature and right reason dictate. It is by thus giving the national energies fair play, and not by restrictive enactments that we may hope to better our condition.[85]

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(77) Scottish Guardian, 15 Jan., 1, 22 Mar. 1833. It had asserted (10 April 1832) that Sadler's bill did not go far enough, since if the act forbade work before the age of twelve 'the practice will make it 8 or 9, where the age cannot always be correctly ascertained, the law ought to lean to the side of humanity:'

(78) Ibid. 29 Mar. 1833.

(79) Ibid. 26 July 1833.

(80) Scots Times, 26 Feb. 1833.

(81) Argus, 8 Mar., Glasgow Evening Post, 5 Jan., Free Press, 9 Jan. 1833.

(82) Argus, 8, 14 Mar.; Glasgow Evening Post, 6 April 1833.

(83) Glasgow Evening Post, 6 April 1833.

(84) Free Press, 12 June, 24 July 1833.

(85) Argus, 8 April 1833.

And of course the operative was exhorted to help by keeping down population.(86)

Therefore by the time the Commission reached Glasgow on 21 May 1833, a fully fledged factory movement was established with an active Short Time Committee, with demonstrations, meetings, petitions and addresses. The whole question had been well publicised and the differing attitudes and arguments well aired in the Glasgow newspapers.

And Glasgow's actions on the arrival of the Commissioners corresponded exactly with the plans laid down by the Manchester Conference of 22 April 1833 which Glasgow delegates had attended. As soon as the Commissioners arrived, the Short Time Committee was to present a written protest maintaining their task was 'unnecessary, partial and delusive'. When work was finished for the day, factory children and their parents were to hold a meeting outside the hotel or house where the Commissioners were staying to let them know the strength of local feeling. Two or more 'intelligent, discreet and inflexible men of good character' appointed by the Short Time Committee were to shadow the Commissioners to find out everything they did. A similar watch was to be kept on the mills to see what special preparations were being made for the visit - whether ill or deformed workers were being hidden away. All this was to be recorded in a journal which was to be forwarded to Oastler or one of the other leaders immediately the Commissioners left the district.(87)

The Glasgow Short Time Committee immediately protested about the issuing of the Commission.(88) Their subsequent actions however displayed the maturity of the Glasgow agitation. Their opposition was not unthinking. As in all their agitations their willingness to compromise was well to the forefront in determining their actions. Thus

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(86) Ibid.
(87) C. Driver, Tory Radical - The Life of Richard Oastler (New York, 1946), p. 224.
(88) P.P., 1833, (450) XX, p. 69. For the protest see Appendix XXIX.

when the Commission agreed to 'inspect all cases of distortion, mutilation, and loss of health, supposed to have been caused by factory labour' in public, the Short Time Committee replied that they were ready to offer what assistance they could.(89) Again, the Short Time Committee had proposed a demonstration of factory children on Glasgow Green so that their appearance could be noted, but decided to cancel it in the interests of safety.(90)

The operatives' objections were thus considered and where possible met:(91) 'the operatives are not now disposed to view our [the Commission's] proceedings as partial';(92) their suggestions, and the witnesses they adduced were to become part of the Commissioners' Report.(93) As witnesses they brought forward three surgeons, two teachers, two ministers,(94) and Patrick McGowan, 'Witness of whom the Commissioner heard, and whom he applied to the Short Time Committee to procure . . .'(95) The Commission therefore recognised the strength and significance of the Glasgow factory movement, and its parent the Glasgow Association of Cotton Spinners.(96) They thought the Short Time Committee had evidence worth hearing, and evidence which could only be procured via the Short Time Committee. The Commissioners seemed to have little doubt that the Short Time Committee's views on foreign competition were reasonable.(97)

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(89) P.P., 1833, 2nd Report (519) XXI, A3, p. 51.
(90) P.P., 1833, (450) XX, A1, p. 72; P.P., Supp. Rep. Part I, 15 Mar. 1834, (167) XIX, p. 84, No. 13.
(91) The operatives had wanted the cross-examination of mill owners and vice versa but the Commissioners had objected. P.P., Supp. Rep. Part I, 15 Mar. 1834, (167) XIX, A1, p. 83, No. 12. 28 May 1833.
(92) Stuart put this down to their being led astray by the English agitation: 'In the first instance, they seem to have been misled by the communications from Leeds, and other manufacturing towns in England.' P.P., 1833, (450) XX, A1, p. 72.
(93) Ibid. A1, p. 71.
(94) Ibid. A1, pp. 101-3.
(95) Ibid. A1, p. 103.
(96) Ibid. A1, p. 83.
(97) 'The Short Hour Committee adduces these witnesses in consequence of the Commissioner suggesting to them to procure evidence respecting prices in America.' Ibid. A1, p. 104.

Likewise it trusted the Short Time Committee to conduct Barry round the operatives' houses.(98)

From its behaviour on this occasion one might well argue that the Glasgow movement showed itself much more realistic than its counterparts in English towns. The Manchester,(99) Leeds, Huddersfield and Bradford(100) Short Time Committees withdrew, refusing to co-operate with the Commission, and thereby denied themselves a chance to put forward their case. The Glasgow Committee, without abandoning its criticism of the Commission, preferred to make such use of it as it could to advance the cause rather than exclude itself from any chance of influencing future legislation. It certainly does not appear to be effete. Nor can it be argued that Glasgow merely followed where England led. Incidents in Glasgow were often reported in English newspapers: for example, reports in the Cosmopolite and British Labourer's Protector gave full coverage to proceedings in Glasgow in April and June 1833.(101)

III

It is difficult therefore to see why the Glasgow factory movement should be considered less impressive than its counterparts elsewhere - apart perhaps from the lack of a great national figure to galvanise subsequent historians into ecstasies. Indeed the meeting held on 1 August 1833 to consider self-legislation since the Ten Hours

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(98) P.P., 1833, (519) XXI, A3, p. 40.
(99) 'Alfred', op.cit. Vol. II, pp. 41-2.
(100) Driver, op.cit. pp. 230, 234, 235.
(101) Cosmopolite, 15 June 1833; British Labourer's Protector . . ., 19 April 1833.

bill '"having been shorn of the best clauses"(102) through the dishonesty of Althorp and Whig coadjutors', did not display a movement in its death-throes. Most of the Short Time Committee spoke. A. Duncan, denouncing the government for betraying the working classes, proposed the first resolution: 'He called on the country by a simultaneous movement to unite, and to declare that, if the Legislature was so foolhardy as to betray the people, they would despise their authority and legislate for themselves as to the hours they would work.'

David Todd pointed out that parents of factory children could not be absolved from blame on the grounds of their poverty. He made scathing reference to the grant of £20,000,000 given to the slave holders: 'He depreciated (sic) the grant of twenty millions to the slave-holders, and said that if the Time-Bill had been carried as it originally stood, the government would not improbably have come on the country to compensate the task-masters at home, for the loss alleged to have been sustained in their business (laughter)' and recommended union. James Dunn proposed a committee of three to correspond with other districts of Britain and effect their resolutions. A vote of thanks was given to Ashley, Sadler, Bull and Oastler.(103)

While it is true that the same intense and sustained agitation is never found after 1833 (neither for that matter is it found elsewhere), nevertheless it is erroneous to assume Glasgow lost all interest in the factory question. In fact she never lost an opportunity of incorporating the factory movement into other agitations. Thus

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(102) Ashley surrendered his bill on 25 June 1833 since it had become apparent that neither the government nor the Commons would accept it. The bill introduced by Althorp for the government forbade the employment of children under the age of nine (except in silk mills); those aged between nine and thirteen were to work a forty-eight hour week, with not more than nine hours in any one day and were to have two hours schooling; those aged between thirteen and eighteen were to work a sixty-nine hour week, with not more than twelve hours in any one day. Night work (between 8.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m.) for those under eighteen was forbidden. There was also to be a system of inspection.

(103) Meeting 1 Aug. 1833, Argus, 5 Aug. 1833; Courier, 3 Aug. 1833.

reference was made to it at the dinner given to George Mills after his defeat by Bentinck in the 1836 election.(104) The candidates in the July 1837 election were questioned about their attitude to shorter hours.(105) Indifference to the factory movement was one of the charges levelled against Peel, by operatives at the meeting in January 1837 to deny their authorship of the Address to him.(106)

In the same way, the Select Committee on Combinations set up in 1837-8 because of the Cotton Spinners Strike(107) gave the operatives a chance to air their grievances about the operation of the factory legislation. They maintained the law was defied because it was impracticable.(108) Piecers were being employed at an age younger than the law allowed i.e. under the age of thirteen (thirteen was the legal age because the nine hour system was not worked in Glasgow).(109) In view of this, the Cotton Spinners Association had attempted to enforce the legislation about hours (they did not bother about the educational provisions).(110) Again the operatives made plain their wish for a ten hour day for both adults and children.(111)

Evidence of continuing interest in the factory question can be seen in their concern to enforce the provisions of the 1833 Act. An advert placed by Horner in the local press suggests that the provisions were not being observed. This called attention to the age certificates;

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(104) Argus, 5 May 1836.
(105) Meeting 17 July 1837, ibid. 20 July 1837; see also Courier, 18 July 1837.
(106) Meeting 12 Jan. 1837, see above Chap. IV, p. 161.
H. Dunn denounced Peel as hostile to the working classes and to factory children: ' . . . those children to whose labour the Peels owed every penny they were possessed of.' Argus, 16 Jan. 1837.
(107) For the Cotton Spinners strike, see above Chap. IV, pp. 169-174. The strike has not been considered in this chapter since it was a dispute over wages and not conditions - conditions being of prime importance in the factory movement.
(108) S. C. Combinations of Workmen, P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, Q.991-3.
(109) Ibid. Q. 1278-81, 1283-5, 1292, 1297, 1299, 1317, 1319.
(110) Ibid. Q. 1324.
(111) Ibid. Q. 1374-9.

proper signing of the certificates; the register of under eighteens; the time provision, school attendance, and the fact that lost time had to be registered.(112) It is true that some prosecutions took place,(113) but there was criticism of firstly the provision for inspection:

> We look on an inspection once in four months, or three times in the year, as little better than no inspection at all, and are persuaded that it is in vain to expect anything like strict or due attention to the provisions of the Act, unless the Inspectors make their rounds frequently, or at least twice a month, and on a day when their presence is not looked for.(114)

and secondly the work of the Inspector himself.

As far as Glasgow was concerned, the Inspector was James Stuart(115) appointed in 1836 (on Horner's transfer to Northern England). Daniel O'Connell in 1838 maintained in the Commons that the Factory Act was 'totally neglected' in Glasgow.(116) Stuart of course denied the charge; his defence being that it was only worthwhile punishing extreme cases. The operatives maintained that the 'Act, notwithstanding of Mr. Stuart's pretensions is <u>extensively violated</u> in Glasgow and Neighbourhood thereof . . .'(117) They held a meeting, forwarded petitions,(118) and sent a memorial to Russell asking for a committee to investigate the matter.(119)

This memorial throws light on the way evasions took place; and contains the conviction that if those who were in a position to enforce the law were vigilant, it would be difficult to evade the law. Those

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(112) <u>Courier</u>, 2 Oct. 1834.
(113) e.g. Prosecution of William Dixon & Co., <u>ibid</u>. 12 Mar. 1835; see also <u>ibid</u>. 19 Mar., 12 Nov. 1835.
(114) <u>Courier</u>, quoted in <u>Argus</u>, 4 Jan. 1836.
(115) For Stuart, see Henriques, <u>op.cit</u>.
(116) <u>Hansard</u>, 3rd ser., Vol. XLIII, 22 June 1838, col. 978.
(117) Memorial to Russell from James McNish, Angus Campbell, John McCaffer. 17 April 1839, H.O. 102/47.
(118) Meeting 24 April 1839, <u>Scots Times</u>, 27 April 1839.
(119) H.O. 102/47.

under thirteen years of age were working for longer than the stated nine hours because the machinery was so constructed that an adult was too large to clean it.

> That if Surgeons and Masters, and Managers, and the Superintendents under the Factory Act, were sufficiently careful and vigilant, very few cases, if any, of attempted deception would be successful, for although Mr. Stuart has stated that difficulties occur in ascertaining the real age in consequence of the births not being registered, yet the fact is that no such evidence is sought after, although births are very generally registered; and where parish registration has been omitted there are other means by which the date of the birth could frequently be had, such as by reference to the Accoucheur, the private Register which parents generally keep, and the Minister - by whom the child is baptized . . . generally the Act is openly violated in the Factories of Glasgow and its neighbourhood with impugnity (sic).(120)

It was alleged that Stuart and Walker acted in concert with the masters to evade the act.(121)

Despite this, the Short Time Committee though still in existence and still active throughout the 1830s(122) made no attempt to exploit its information on conditions - information which it claimed to be more reliable than that of the Inspectors because it was obtained by the operatives from the parents. It did not report infringements of the law to the Inspector, since the Inspector and the Committee were often at variance. Furthermore such reporting would have displeased both the parents (who wanted their children's earnings) and the masters (who needed to keep the machinery going). Nevertheless the Short Time Committee was not slow to report to Commissions that it wished the ten hour day, and to publicise demonstrations held for this.(123)

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(120) Ibid.
(121) Ibid.
(122) e.g. Henry Dunn sent a letter on behalf of the operative spinners of Glasgow and neighbourhood to their counterparts in Yorkshire and Lancashire calling for public support for Hendley, Ashley, Fielden and Brotherton. Weavers Journal, 1 June 1836.
(123) Fact. Inspect. Rep. P.P., 17 July 1840, (504) X, Q. 8676-8823.

Accordingly, on the more direct occasions when the factory question again arose on a national scale, as it did in 1836, 1843, and 1846-7, Glasgow was quick to express her opinions demonstrating that her interest had not waned. The occasion for renewed outburst in 1836 was an amendment of Poulett Thomson, President of the Board of Trade, to the 1833 Act. By the provisions of the 1833 Act, on 1 March 1836 children under thirteen years of age were to be restricted to a forty-eight hour week. On 15 March 1836 Thomson moved to bring in a bill amending the 1833 Act so that this provision did not apply.(124)

The Courier called this amending bill 'One of the most iniquitous pieces of legislation of modern times . . .' and blamed Utilitarian pressure for it.(125) The Constitutional maintained that children should be receiving 'religious and literary education' up to the age of fourteen, and not working at all.(126) Petitions were presented against the amendment.(127) When the bill received a majority, the Courier bitterly pointed out that horses and dogs would not be treated in this way.(128) The Constitutional compared factory children with slaves:

> It is almost a pity the 30,000 infants, whom Mr. Thompson (sic) wishes to enslave by his abominable Bill, are not children of colour; for, were this the case, we feel satisfied that the mere enunciation of the measure would have raised the indignation of all the ladies of the land against the fructifying Minister, and that ere this as

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(124) See Thomas, op.cit. pp. 88-93.
(125) Courier, 29 Mar. 1836.
(126) Constitutional, 26 Mar. 1836.
(127) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. XXXIII, 9 May 1836, col. 772.
(128) Courier, 19 May 1836, it continued ' . . . no man, with a grain of humanity in his composition, will dare to affirm that that is, or ever can be, a sound foundation of national wealth which reposes on so odious a basis as infant labour; the inevitable effects of which must be that, while the bodily functions are impaired, and the corporeal frame prevented from acquiring its natural proportions, the mind is debased by the want of early domestic culture, and a filthy lucre held out to unprincipled parents to abdicate their first and righteous functions.'

> many tears would have been shed as would have drowned him; but because the children are white - because they are not thousands of miles distant from our own shores, they must forsooth be doomed to slavery more grinding and oppressive than was ever experienced or wept over by Mr. George Thompson (sic) and his host of lachrymose admirers.(129)

The bill however, had only received a majority of two (178 to 176) and since the measure was causing high feeling in the country, Thomson announced it was to be dropped.

Another outburst of agitation occurred in 1843 when Sir James Graham brought forward a bill to limit children aged between eight and thirteen to a six and a half hour day, and women aged under twenty-one to twelve hours. The opposition arose over the clause to provide three hours education a day. To English Nonconformists this meant that the Church of England would control the new schools. In Scotland the Free Church and the press led the campaign. Dr. Wardlaw's congregation met on 10 May 1843 to petition against the education clauses. The Argus saw the bill as an 'audacious attack' on their religious liberties;(130) while the Courier considered it 'a measure in itself so just and necessary'.(131)

A meeting was held on 17 May 1843 to petition Parliament about these education clauses. Feelings ran high. William Cross, the chairman, denied the government's right to interfere in education: 'What right had the Government to compel men to be educated? The doctrine was a pernicious one. They could not interfere compulsorily with the education of the people without producing the most mischievous results.'(132) The Rev. Dr. King, while maintaining instruction should be brought within the reaches of all, denounced the bill as 'framed in a spirit so illiberal and oppressive, that, were it passed into a law, it would immediately and injuriously violate the rights of the subject, by giving fresh sanction and enlarged application to compulsory education -

(129) Constitutional, 14 May 1836.
(130) Argus, 15 May 1843; see also ibid. 11 May 1843.
(131) Courier, 4 May 1843.
(132) Meeting 17 May 1843, Argus, 18 May 1843.

a principle which the practice of continental governments found to be as pernicious as it was unjust etc.'(133) Though much of the campaign in both England and Scotland reflected unsubstantiated fears, nevertheless Graham was forced to withdraw his bill.

On 6 February 1844 he introduced another bill, minus the educational clauses, but restricting the working day of women to twelve hours. The Commons rejected this and passed instead Ashley's proposal for ten hours. The Courier was unimpressed: ' . . . the factory system will continue to be a blot on our civilisation until time shall have corrected its more prominent evils, by forcing the energies of the nation into some less hurtful channels . . .';(134) and now reiterated the old arguments about labour being the working man's only capital.(135) While the Argus claimed 'the true remedy . . . is the adoption of an unrestricted system of trade . . .'(136)

On 22 March however, both Ashley's and Graham's schemes were rejected. This caused Glasgow to agitate once more. The workers of Messrs. Maclercy and Hamilton & Co. sent an address of support to Ashley. They had thought that the Reform Parliament would have recognised the rights of labour, 'and from that time until now we have discontinued agitating the question, waiting until a further extension of the suffrage should take place, or, in other words, until the working classes became constituents to our parliamentary representatives.'(137) A public meeting on 17 April 1844 adopted a petition. It was pointed out that this was no new agitation, and cries for unity were made:

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(133) Courier, 18 May 1843.
(134) Ibid. 19 Mar. 1844.
(135) And presented it as a straight choice between Corn Law repeal and a Ten Hours bill: 'One thing we can venture to assure his Lordship, viz., that a corn-law and a ten hours labour bill cannot co-exist and that one or other of them must give way.' Ibid. 23 Mar. 1844.
(136) Argus, 21 Mar. 1844.
(137) Address 30 Mar. 1844, ibid. 11 April 1844.

'He [McFarlane, Chartist] hoped unanimity would distinguish them, whether they were Whigs, Tories, or Chartists, and that they allow no party measure to divide them. It was party spirit entering into their movements that injured them, and bright as their hopes were, if party spirit came in, they would dissipate their strength without producing one good result.'(138) It was all in vain however, since on 13 May Ashley was soundly defeated by 297 votes to 159.

In the new agitation planned at Todmorden on 8 June 1845 and Manchester on 1 November,(139) Glasgow played its part: letters were sent to the first conference; delegates to the second. Petitions were presented.(140) There was an impressive turn out at the meeting on 10 December 1846 in Glasgow, to hear an address from Oastler.(141) On the platform, along with a number of representatives of the operatives were Sir John Maxwell, Dr. Norman McLeod, Mr. W. Campbell of Tullichewan, while David Todd was in the chair. Oastler delivered an emotive speech.

> This is well - that I should come to Glasgow, since I have crossed the border for the first time in my life - and it is indeed well that I should raise my voice first in this town, for this town was the cradle of the question (cheers). Here, in the city of Glasgow, some thirty or forty years ago, Robert Owen, of New Lanark - (cheers) - asked the manufacturers to petition parliament for a ten hours' bill; and I rejoice that in Scotland my voice should be raised for the carrying out of that important and necessary measure. (cheers).(142)

Again James Oswald made his opposition quite clear.(143) Scotland's support however, was well appreciated by the English movement:

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(138) Meeting 17 April 1844, ibid. 18 April 1844.
(139) Ten Hours Bill, meeting of delegates from Manchester Guardian quoted in ibid. 13 Nov. 1845.
(140) Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. LXXVII, 5 Feb. 1845, col. 133 for extension of the provisions; Vol. LXXVIII, 7 Mar. 1845, col. 430; Vol. LXXIX, 8 April 1845, col. 306; Vol. LXXX, 2 May 1845, col. 97 for the Ten Hours Bill.
(141) The Ten Hours Advocate and Journal of Literature and Art, 12 Dec. 1846 commented that it was attended 'by a large number of the clergy and gentry of that city. The hall was crowded to overflow.'
(142) Ibid.; see also Courier, 12 Dec. 1846.
(143) Courier, 12 Dec. 1846.

> The meetings in Scotland continue to make good all our anticipations. The spirits of the operatives are as unbroken as the first day they commenced the agitation; it is therefore needless for our opponents to hope to break their spirits by continued opposition and nominal defeats.(144)

When Fielden introduced his Ten Hours bill on 26 January 1847 the Argus and Courier still fervently opposed a shortening of adults' hours.(145) Petitions were presented.(146) The Ten Hours Act became law in June 1847, whereupon addresses of thanks were sent to various supporters - Russell had received one in March 1847.(147) On the whole the agitators were relatively content though it was pointed out: 'It is rather a singular coincidence that the corn laws were only repealed when the farmer was on the eve of receiving famine prices for his produce; and that now the short time bill should only receive the assent of the House of Commons, when a great proportion of the millowners find it impossible to afford full employment to their workpeople.'(148)

IV

The Glasgow factory movement then, had been a viable, mature movement showing a readiness to compromise and adapt to suit changing circumstances. It did not simply follow where England led, but could and did take the initiative. It was all that one would have expected from an economic movement in a city where political relations were conducted in a moderate manner.

If there was less militancy than one might expect, then allowance should be made for the following factors: the attempts at making the

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(144) Ten Hours Advocate . . . 2 Jan. 1847; see also ibid. 30 Jan. 1847.
(145) Argus, 1 Feb. 1847; Courier, 6 Mar. 1847.
(146) Hansard, 3rd ser.; Vol. XC, 19 Feb. 1847, col. 245; Vol. XCI, 22 April 1847, col. 1157.
(147) Ten Hours Advocate . . ., 22 Mar. 1847.
(148) Saturday Post, 20 Mar. 1847.

existing system work;(149) the idea of self-help as envisaged in trades unions (constantly advocated in the Unstamped);(150) and the successful private 'deals' securing the necessary reduction in hours without legislative interference.

Private deals were always a feature of industrial life. For example, at the beginning of 1840 an extensive strike was in progress in Glasgow because employers had cut wages by between 10 and 20 per cent. Women workers played an active part by organising meetings. The operatives however, while denying the necessity of the cuts were ready to bargain on the basis of a national average:

> This opinion [that cuts were unjustifiable] is borne out by the general state of trade, the rates of payments allowed by the employers in Lancashire generally, and the other manufacturing districts throughout the country; and this meeting is farther (sic) of opinion, that the above statements can be borne out by authentic documents in our possession. Nevertheless, we are quite willing to meet with the employers, and arrange, in conjunction with them, a scale of payments based on an average of the whole country.(151)

At the same time some masters had agreed to pay their discharged workers 4/- (20p) a week while the strike lasted.(152)

Improvement could come without demonstration and could often secure what legislative enactment had failed to do. Industrial relations were characterised by a series of private agreements between masters and men. Thus as early as 1823 the callenderers had formed an

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(149) The benefits that the Factory Act did bring were appreciated by those not covered by it - throughout 1843-5 the operative bleachers petitioned for extending the provisions of the Factory Act to Bleaching Works. Hansard, 3rd ser., Vol. LXX, 3 July 1843, col. 559; Vol. LXXIII, 22 Feb. 1844, col. 22; Vol. LXXV, 24 Jan. 1844, col. 1263; Vol. LXXVI, 15 July 1844, col. 821; Vol. LXXVII, 18 Feb. 1845, col. 638; H.O. 45/1283.

(150) See Chap. I for attitudes of self-help; cf. H.T.A., 23 April 1831. It would have been 'more in accordance with our own feelings, and the spirit of the union, had the operatives in Cotton Factories been enabled to have carried their point independent of legislative interference;'.

(151) Courier, 14 Jan. 1840.

(152) Ibid.

association, vowing they would not work after a certain hour except in an emergency. This was conceded by employers and lasted for three years.(153) There is evidence of other instances of such arrangements.(154)

Gilbert Innes, manager of Cogan, Bartholomews & Co. Printing-field Dalmarnock revealed to the Children's Employment Commission 1843 how such agreements were reached. When he was manager of the company's weaving factory in Canning Street before the Factory Act was operational, the hands had petitioned for the working day to be reduced by one hour. The firm agreed, and Innes found that production increased.(155)

This practice continued throughout the period: in 1845 a number of manufacturers shortened the working day by between a half and one hour, succeeding, as the Courier pointed out where Parliament had failed: 'The workers are exceedingly grateful for this concession, and should the movement progress elsewhere as it has done, and is doing here, Lord Ashley's vocation will be gone - in so far as there will have been done voluntarily that which an act of Parliament might have failed to effect . . .'(156) In the beginning of 1847 Campbell of Tullichewan had resolved to close his business at 7 p.m. to give the workers time to gain 'useful knowledge'.(157) In the same spirit, in 1844 master spinners agreed to raise wages by 10 per cent because of the prosperity of trade.(158) All of which would take some impetus out of the factory movement.

That the Glasgow movement was not constantly active and growing, was in the nature of things since 'incentives' and fillips were required to ensure this. It is arguable that the Glasgow movement had fewer of these to draw on than had its English counterparts. The English movement took incentive from the agitation against the 1834 Poor Law

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(153) H.T.A., 25 Dec. 1830.
(154) Ibid. 13 Nov. 1830.
(155) Child. Employ. Commiss., P.P., 1843, (432) XV, 12 No. 2.
(156) Courier, 19 June 1845.
(157) Saturday Post, 12 Dec. 1846.
(158) Courier, 19 Oct. 1844.

Amendment Act. Oastler himself said that 'the New Poor Law was only one branch of the Factory System, intended to drive the agricultural poor into the Factories'.(159) This was not the case in Scotland. Scotland had no system of poor relief on the English model - the Scottish system was directed against vagrancy rather than towards the provision of adequate relief. Hence what had proved a very valuable stimulus for the English movement was missing from the Glasgow scene.

The Glasgow movement may well have been a little more sporadic and rather less 'extreme' than the movements in English towns. But even with these provisos, there seems no case for 'denying' the Glasgow movement or insisting it has fundamental differences from the English one. It had a similar organisation, similar objectives and similar attitudes. It operated at the same times as the English agitation, and there is evidence of close connection with, and interest in the English movement.

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(159) Quoted in J. T. Ward, The Factory Movement 1830-55 (London, 1962), p. 124.

CONCLUSION

Examination of the period 1830-48 in Glasgow then has revealed that relations between working-class and middle-class radicals were characterised by a spirit of co-operation and moderation rather than one of hostility. At all the main points of national activity - 1832, 1839, 1842 and 1848 - Glasgow had responded with an agitation of a moderate kind: there were no large scale acts of violence committed by, for example, Chartists, and even their language always held out the possibility of conciliation with other radical groups.

In practice working-class radicals seem to have taken a realistic view of situations in deciding their actions: occasionally there were times when it seemed that more would be gained by acting alone; others when it seemed co-operation with the middle classes would be more fruitful. In the same way, the middle classes were eager for working-class support to aid in repealing the Corn Laws.

Given this, it is perhaps not surprising that the period did not see either a strengthening of, or an advance on, a working-class analysis of social conflict. Theories stressing the importance of the relations between capital and labour are very thin on the ground in this period, though they can be found. Thus 'The destruction of the Trades' Union was, however, rapidly uniting the operative classes towards one object and a day of retribution would yet arrive when the working people would be free from the shackles of the government and of the capitalist, and enjoy the first fruits of their labour, happiness and comfort.'(1) But the same man who said this, Matthew Cullen, became a member of the Complete Suffrage Association, and was to be found at the Reform Banquet of 5 December 1848 urging class co-operation, and employing the most moderate, conciliatory language.(2)

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(1) M. Cullen, 12 Aug. 1840 on Five Returned Cotton Spinners. Scots Times, 19 Aug. 1840.
(2) See above, Chap. V, p. 223.

Likewise Feargus O'Connor could maintain in Glasgow in 1838 that 'the evils which press upon the British people, are chiefly to be traced to the undue preponderance of capital over labour',(3) yet subsequently argue that it was to the working man's interest to uphold capital 'for they could not all be capitalists'; and by 1849 hold views which were indistinguishable from those of the exponents of classical economy such as Joseph Hume.(4) Much more common however, were the more traditional views wherein the crucial division was between the aristocracy and the rest of society - the people. Malcolm took this view at a meeting of the banished Cotton Spinners on 8 July 1840;(5) and it was still in evidence in 1849.(6)

It is true that in the 1830s it is possible to find stress laid on the theory that labour was the source of all value, though without coming to any conclusions that this must necessitate a class war. Furthermore, one can even find in England some quite far reaching ideas on the historical growth of social classes and social change being provided by two Owenites, Morrison and Smith. These amounted to a well-thought out critique of capitalism though without developing any theory of class warfare.(7) Similar sentiments could be detected in Glasgow, though not so thoroughly expressed or developed, and again they were never carried to any conclusion of class hostility.

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(3) Meeting 4 Jan. 1838, Scots Times, 6 Jan. 1838.
(4) Schoyen, op.cit. p. 181.
(5) 'So long as oppressive laws and iniquitous monopolies were maintained by the Aristocracy, which equally affected the employer and the employed, it was evident that the competitive system would compel masters to do what in other circumstances they would not think of, and so long were the workmen not only justified, but bound to protect themselves in the best manner possible.' R. Malcolm jr., 8 July 1840, Scots Times, 10 July 1840.
(6) Meeting of delegates from shops and factories to protest against the Queen's proposed visit. Northern Star, 11 Aug. 1849. O'Connor himself often took refuge in blaming aristocratic domination for popular ills. Ibid. 23 Jan. 1847 quoted in I. Prothero, 'Chartism in London' P. & P., XLIV (1969), p. 86.
(7) Oliver, op.cit.

It is not therefore surprising, but it may be of significance, to find that many of the agitators of the period were later to be found in 'respectable' careers. James Moir ended his career in local government: he was elected to the Town Council in 1848, and apart from a three year break (1865-8) served on it till his death in 1880. He was appointed a bailie in 1871 and a J.P. in 1875. When he died he received an official funeral.(8)

Other former agitators later achieved prominence as police commissioners and members of parochial boards - Moir, Ross, Pattison and Cullen were to be found engaged in these activities.(9) This did not mean that radical agitations ceased - various 'good causes' still commanded support such as American slavery - McFarlane and Cullen being particularly interested in this. Glasgow radicals therefore continued to agitate for what they considered were worthwhile causes, but as always this agitation took place within the framework of the community and its values and was not directed at smashing this framework.

II

Co-operation, rather than hostility had been fostered by the structure of Glasgow's society and economy. Glasgow had a variety of avenues to combat social unfairness. Social mobility was possible; and even if it did not take place as often as people thought it did, the belief that it could, and did take place, was what mattered. The Glasgow working man was relatively well educated: Glasgow Chartists were accustomed to call on David Hume to back up their arguments.(10) He was not led astray by erroneous notions as to what repeal of the

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(8) W. H. Marwick, 'Some Chartist Leaders' Herald, 10 Feb. 1934.
(9) Examiner, 6 Jan. 1849; Saturday Post, 17 Nov. 1849.
(10) McFarlane, Gorbals Chartist meeting, 3 May 1839, Scots Times, 8 May 1839.

Corn Laws would mean. He was well integrated into an industrial society: he had no hankering after a pre-industrial golden-age. This integration may well have been facilitated by the diversified character of the economy.

Co-operation was also perhaps promoted by the general sharing of a common value system. The working man put his faith in rationality, morality and individual self-improvement. Unlike the workers in the 'unskilled North', he had no distrust of a Utilitarian ideology; Bentham was one of his heroes.(11) On the whole Glaswegians tended to hold the attitudes of a business community. Thus O'Connor in 1851 presented a petition from Glasgow expressing no confidence in the then ministry and maintaining that 'This utilitarian age requires men of mind, experience, and business habits, . . .'(12)

Such an acceptance of middle-class values however, did not take place in a spirit of deference or inferiority. The Glasgow working man held no small opinion of his dignity, worth and importance. He accepted middle-class ideals because they seemed to offer what he wanted. A willingness to co-operate on the part of the working classes, did not mean that the working classes thereby subordinated their aims to those of the middle classes; or that they were not conscious of their aims. Rather it would seem to argue a certain degree of sophistication and maturity to realise that often more could be gained by co-operation and working through the system, than by outright hostility.

This was apparent in their attitude to education. Education was seen as a means whereby working men could remedy the defects, of which they were well aware, in their situation. That the working classes should wish education, often identified as a middle-class panacea, does not mean that the working classes were willing to be 'educated' to a position of docility.

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(11) This would have won him the approval of Engels - see Engels, op.cit. p. 273.
(12) Northern Star, 22 Mar. 1851.

The reasons for the degree of co-operation and moderation however, are to be sought not only in the social and economic structure of Glasgow. They are also to be found in the absence from the Glasgow scene of some of the more detested aspects of the actions of the Reformed Parliament. Perhaps the most glaring instance of this was the English Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 (to which reference has so often been made).

Again, there is the important fact that the working classes were still highly differentiated. These differences were exemplified in Glasgow, in the disparity of aims and lack of a clear-cut policy towards the Anti-Corn Law movement; and in the splits within Chartism such as that occasioning the foundation of the Glasgow Democratic Club in December 1839.(13)

At no time in the period 1830-48 in Glasgow at any rate, does it seem possible to sustain Thompson's claim that ' . . . by 1832 there were two Radical publics: the middle-class which looked forward to the Anti-Corn Law League, and the working-class whose journalists (Hetherington, Watson, Cleave, Lovett, Benbow, O'Brien) were already maturing the Chartist movement'.(14) As has been shown above Glasgow contained no clear dichotomy of this nature: the political and economic analysis of the two groups were never so distinct.(15) A lack of a united working-class response therefore helped to bring about a more fluid relationship between the classes.

And not only does it not seem possible to find two distinct radical publics, it is not easy to identify a unified working class in Glasgow by 1848 let alone 1832. Ever since Thompson made the claim that the working class was 'made' by 1832, there has been controversy over this. He defined class as 'a historical phenomenon,

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(13) See above, Chap. V.
(14) E. P. Thompson, op.cit. p. 799.
(15) Nor for that matter were they always so apparent to a contemporary - see Engels, op.cit. p. 260.

unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness . . . class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs'.(16) If the characteristics of the making of the working class therefore include a sense of separate interests, then it can be said that the Glasgow working classes were conscious of their own needs, aims and worth. They did not however, formulate these <u>against</u>, or in <u>opposition</u> to, others' interests. They did not for example reject middle-class social values or attributes. They displayed no consistent hostility to the governing classes as such; some would vote Tory if this would further their aims; others passionately wished to return to a situation of co-operation with the Whigs; and most were willing to close ranks with other reformers once the Tories were firmly in power.

If a consciousness of their own worth and dignity is important in making a class, then again Glasgow working men would seem to fit the picture. But such a consciousness was not incompatible with co-operation. For though Glasgow working men did think of themselves as a separate section of the community which was entitled to its rights, they did not think this entitlement meant that others should lose their rights - all were to enjoy the same rights. Such a consciousness therefore need not lead to a position of hostility.(17) In view of this, plus the fact that Glasgow still had a differentiated working class, which had not evolved a distinct political philosophy or

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(16) E. P. Thompson, <u>op.cit.</u> pp. 9, 10.
(17) cf. H. Weisser, 'Chartist Internationalism, 1845-1848' <u>H.J.</u>, XIV (1971), p. 61 where he shows that if a strong feeling of 'proletarian internationalism' was the result of heightened class consciousness then this same class consciousness also gave rise to another type of Chartist internationalism preaching 'co-operation and education instead of international class war'.

strengthened its analysis of class conflict, it may be argued that the working class had not been 'made' in Thompson's sense[18] by 1832 or 1848, whatever may have been the case elsewhere.

III

Recent work on other towns suggests that Glasgow was not unique in its relations between radicals in this period. In Bristol, Coventry, Halifax, Leeds, London, Norwich, Nottingham and the 'unskilled North', though at times labour could become class conscious, class conflict did not become the norm. All these places had factors in common with Glasgow in that they did have avenues seeming to hold out the promise of better prospects (again it must be emphasised that in this context, 'appearances' were what mattered). Bristol,[19] London [20] and Nottingham[21] had diversified economies ensuring that in times of distress they would suffer less than single industry towns. Coventry[22] and Nottingham both had wide electorates where many working men already possessed the vote as freemen, and social mobility was still possible. Norwich[23] had a paterna-

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(18) cf. F. C. Mather, Chartism (Hist. Assoc. pamphlet, 1965), pp. 31-2. 'In Chartist times a single working class, clearly differentiated from the middle class, did not as yet fully exist, and the forces which had been building it previously seemed to be set in reverse during the thirty years after 1848 when Chartism passed from the public view.'

(19) J. Cannon, The Chartists in Bristol (Bristol, 1967).

(20) D. J. Rowe, 'The Failure of London Chartism' H.J., XI (1968), pp. 472-87.
———— 'The London Working Men's Association and the "People's Charter"' P. & P., XXXVI (1967), pp. 73-86.
———— 'Chartism and the Spitalfields Silk Weavers' Ec.H.R. 2nd ser. XX (1967), pp. 482-93.

(21) R. A. Church, Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town - Victorian Nottingham, (London, 1966); P. Wyncoll, Nottingham Chartism (Nottingham, 1966).

(22) J. Prest, The Industrial Revolution in Coventry (Ox.U.P., 1960); P. Searby, Coventry Politics in the Age of the Chartists (Coventry, 1964).

(23) J. K. Edwards, 'Chartism in Norwich' York. Bull. Soc. and Econ. Res., XIX (1967), pp. 85-100.

list middle class. In the 'unskilled North',(24) though the workers turned to Chartism they did not turn to class consciousness; rather being inarticulate, unskilled and ill-educated, they looked to a pre-industrial past.

Even in areas which lacked traditions of class co-operation such as Leeds and Leicester, attempts were made at co-operation. It had been written of Leeds c. 1845 'Class stands opposed to class, . . .';(25) yet Chartism did not secure a mass following in Leeds because on the whole the people were better off, and had always the hope of a return to prosperity. Leeds had Chartist councillors giving the movement a measure of respectability;(26) and Leeds factory reformers were anxious for middle-class support.(27)

By contrast, Leicester which saw no large scale class co-operation was a single industry town, where the workers were not orientated towards an industrial society (as they were in Glasgow) and where industrial and social grievances received no practical sympathy from the middle classes.(28) Yet even here attempts were made to merge the agitations for Chartism and the repeal of the Corn Laws. And when in February 1840 the Leicester Anti-Corn Law Association proposed an affiliated society among artisans, a Chartist attempt to take over this meeting failed.(29)

Even a prominent Chartist like McDouall was to ponder the wisdom of attacking the middle classes:

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(24) R. Soffer, 'Attitudes and Allegiances in the Unskilled North, 1830-1850' I.R.S.H., X (1965), pp. 429-54.
(25) J. Hale, quoted in A. Briggs, Victorian Cities (Penguin 1968 ed.), p. 141.
(26) J. F. C. Harrison, 'Chartism in Leeds' in Briggs, Chartist Studies pp. 65-99.
(27) J. T. Ward, 'Leeds and the Factory Reform Movement' Thoresby Misc. XLVI, p. 93.
(28) J. F. C. Harrison, 'Chartism in Leicester' in Briggs, Chartist Studies pp. 99-147.
(29) A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester (Leicester, 1954), pp. 312-3.

> A bad turn had been given to their efforts with regard to physical-force demonstrations; another error was the denouncing the middle classes. The physical-force demonstrations had entirely failed; and he thought nothing had been gained by attacking the middle classes. It was not that he placed much reliance on the middle classes; but still, if their services could be rendered available, they should be accepted. They might be narrowly watched, and allowed rather to assist than to lead the movement.(30)

Similarly the Durham County Charter Association issued a pamphlet on 'The Duty of the Middle Classes to support the Chartists' which proclaimed, 'Labor (sic) and capital are like the two halves of a bank-note - useless when separate, valuable when combined.'(31) While by the end of 1847 both O'Connor and Ernest Jones were openly sympathising with the idea of a Chartist-Radical alliance.(32) Attempts at co-operation therefore were being made throughout the country in this period.

In the same way a working-class belief in self-help was not confined to Glasgow. In Coventry at the height of the Chartist troubles, the Chartist Rattray told a large meeting that 'the working classes are not the only meritorious individuals in society; they are working men from necessity, not choice. There is a deal of credit due to the man who, by his industry, ingeniousness, and economy raises himself from the lower ranks to the higher classes of society.'(33)

The working classes in this period therefore did not display a monolithic response or attitude to class co-operation and class conflict. Perhaps the best examples illustrating this come from Manchester and Birmingham, both of which had been symbols of opposing attitudes.

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(30) Account of a Chartist Rally in Manchester to welcome Peter McDouall and John Collins on their release from gaol. From Northern Star, 22 Aug. 1840, quoted in ed. D. Thompson, op.cit. p. 149.
(31) Quoted in W. H. Maehl, 'Chartist Disturbances in Northeastern England, 1839', I.R.S.H., VIII (1963), p. 405.
(32) Schoyen, op.cit. p. 152.
(33) Coventry Standard, 26 Aug. 1842, quoted in Searby, op.cit. p. 21.

Manchester had had a long history of class conflict. Its society was split rigidly into two - masters and men - with no gradations in between, and little or no chance of a man rising to become a master. Yet even in Manchester in the years 1844-6 a change occurred in the attitudes and aspirations of working men which was to lead to a period of co-operation, and which was to ensure that throughout the 1840s and 50s, working-class movements were often less aggressive than those elsewhere.(34)

This change was occasioned by the emergence of a number of factors similar to those which had always been present in Glasgow. Firstly, there was the revival of prosperity in Manchester; Glasgow had always had hope of prosperity, and in Glasgow wages were higher than elsewhere in Scotland.(35) Secondly, the Manchester working classes turned more to economic activity; thirdly the working classes now began to support the Anti-Corn Law League because they now realised that wages were not linked to the level of bread prices: Glasgow operatives being more educated were always aware of this; fourthly Manchester employers began to develop a social conscience - again this had been a regular feature of Glasgow life; fifthly Manchester operatives began to accept some of the truths of laissez faire economics, as Glasgow operatives had always done. Lastly, in August 1845 Bolton operatives held a special celebration for their employers because they had been given two rises without resorting to strike action; Glasgow employers gave similar rises.(36)

If a town which had already had a long history of class conflict

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(34) Briggs, Victorian Cities p. 134. Another factor was that many of the working classes remained Tory as they had been in 1832.
(35) Irish Poor Rep. 1835, p. 110.
(36) See above, Chap. VI.

was by the 1840s(37) turning to the politics of co-operation, another, which had always seemed 'the exemplar of class harmony and co-operation'(38) - Birmingham - was to experience in the years 1839-42 a period of class conflict. By the 1840s there was a complete distrust of the middle classes. A plan for a movement advocating literacy as the qualification for universal suffrage was rejected largely because it had been sponsored by the middle classes.(39) Though this was ultimately resolved,(40) and the old relationship resumed, nevertheless it remains a valuable warning against blanket statements about class.

The situation in Glasgow then provides a further reminder of the danger of thinking of relations between the middle classes and the working classes in too simplified and stark terms; in particular that relations of class hostility were hardened, and that this provides the key to the understanding of the period. To do this, really entails too highly selective a handling of the evidence, and produces a distorted picture. The reality was less simple and less clear-cut: it was not a case of either there was co-operation, or there was hostility and separate action; it was quite possible if conditions were right to encompass all these features since separate actions need not take place in a spirit of hostility, and class consciousness need not inhibit co-operation with enlightened members of other social classes.

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(37) Mather, op.cit. p. 22 would seem to agree that co-operation was more widespread: ' . . . it was only in the years 1839-41 that the opponents of class co-operation had things more or less their own way in the movement; at other times they had at least to share power with those who adopted a less rigid view, and the battles between the rival groups were often fierce.'

(38) T. R. Tholfsen, 'The Chartist Crisis in Birmingham' I.R.S.H., III (1958), p. 461.

(39) Ibid. p. 474.

(40) Ibid. p. 476.

A NOTE ON BURGH REFORM

It might have been expected that the very important movement for reform of English municipal corporations would be paralleled by a similar movement for reform in Scottish burghs, but in practice this was not an issue which made much appearance in the demands and activities of Glasgow radicals in the 1830s. This is largely because the movement for burgh reform in Glasgow from the late eighteenth century was primarily concerned with electoral reform rather than with local and municipal abuses. It must be remembered that Scotland, in the pre-reform period resembled one 'rotten borough': all its 45 M.P.s were returned by an electorate of less than 5000. Burgh representatives were returned by means of indirect election, the franchise for which was vested in the hands of self-electing town councils.

The main objection of the Glasgow burgh reform movement to the unreformed system was that it vested the power of returning Glasgow's one quarter of an M.P. (Glasgow was grouped with Rutherglen, Renfrew and Dumbarton) solely in the hands of the Town Council, a self-electing and self-perpetuating body. Burgh reformers wanted therefore, electoral reform to secure a popular voice in the proceedings. In other words, the movement for burgh reform in Glasgow was a movement aiming to secure a widening of the franchise even within the existing 'unreformed' framework of Parliament.

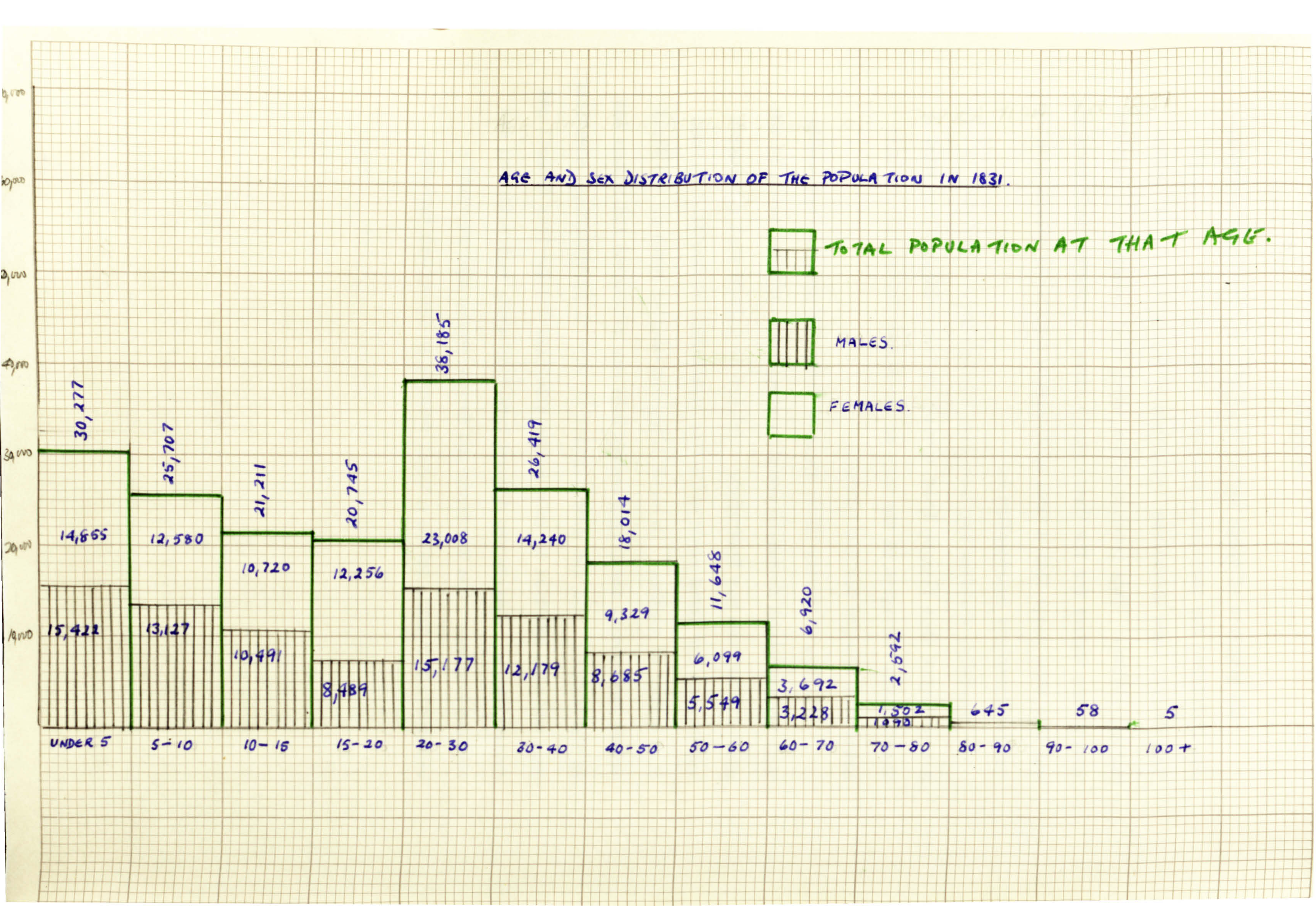
Consequently, when the wider movement for parliamentary reform picked up impetus in the late 1820s, it was natural that the narrower Glasgow burgh reform movement should be incorporated in this - if parliamentary reform were granted this would be conceding the main point of the burgh campaign: that the election of representatives should not be confined to a closed body. The Glasgow Reform Association, at its inception, coupled parliamentary and burgh reform as one of its main aims.

Any prospect of burgh reform looming large in Glasgow politics was diminished for three main reasons. First of all, the Glasgow Town Council were themselves supporters of the agitation for parliamentary reform. They petitioned for this, they accepted the argument that it was unjust for the Town Council alone to possess the franchise, and they were eager that a town of Glasgow's importance should have its own parliamentary representative.

Secondly, whatever may have been the situation elsewhere, it cannot be argued that Glasgow local government was notoriously corrupt or inefficient: Brougham at the time of the Burghs Reform bill in 1833 noted that Glasgow was not corrupt.

Thirdly, in a very short space of time, the general expectation that the municipal franchise would be extended on similar terms to the parliamentary one was fulfilled. Whereas in England such a movement had to wait for three years after the Reform Act, in Scotland it came in a matter of months. In March 1833, the opening weeks of the first Reform Parliament, the Burghs Reform bill was introduced and became law in the August. All who were entitled to vote in parliamentary elections were now also entitled to vote in the elections for the Town Council and Police Board. Glasgow was divided into five wards each returning six representatives. The Merchants and Trades Houses also returned a representative each, making a total council of thirty-two members.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN 1831.



APPENDIX I

POPULATION OF GLASGOW IN 1831

Ages	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	15,422	14,855	30,277
5 - 10	13,127	12,580	25,707
10 - 15	10,491	10,720	21,211
15 - 20	8,489	12,256	20,745
20 - 30	15,177	23,008	38,185
30 - 40	12,179	14,240	26,419
40 - 50	8,685	9,329	18,014
50 - 60	5,549	6,099	11,648
60 - 70	3,228	3,692	6,920
70 - 80	1,090	1,502	2,592
80 - 90	260	385	645
90 - 100	26	32	58
100 and up	1	4	5
TOTAL:	93,724	108,702	202,426

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF GLASGOW IN 1840

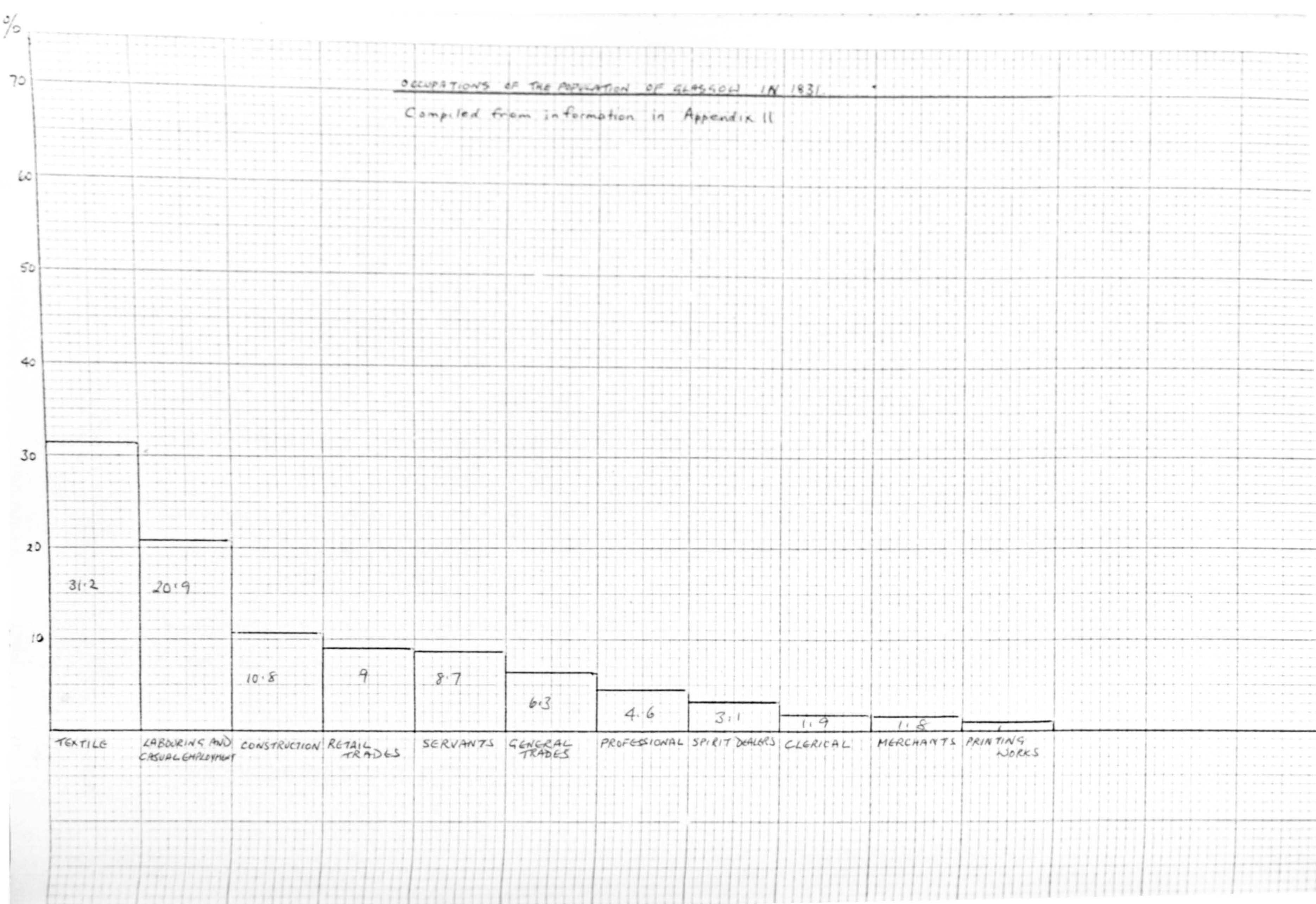
Ages	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	21,485	20,694	42,179
5 - 10	18,287	17,525	35,812
10 - 15	14,615	14,934	29,549
15 - 20	11,826	17,074	28,900
20 - 30	21,143	32,053	53,196
30 - 40	16,967	19,837	36,804
40 - 50	12,099	12,996	25,095
50 - 60	7,730	8,497	16,227
60 - 70	4,497	5,143	9,640
70 - 80	1,519	2,092	3,611
80 - 90	362	537	899
90 - 100	36	45	81
100 and up	1	6	7
TOTAL:	130,567	151,433	282,000

Male Householders	46,333
Female "	12,128
	58,461

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, pp. 160, 161.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF GLASGOW IN 1831.

Compiled from information in Appendix II



APPENDIX II

OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF GLASGOW IN 1831

Weavers, Warpers, Winders	15,217
Cotton Spinners, Steam Loom Weavers	9,856
Colliers, Quarrymen, Labourers	6,614
Milliners, Straw Hat Makers, Seamstresses	3,093
Upholsterers, Cabinet Makers, Joiners, Sawyers	2,986
Distillers, Brewers etc.	2,913
Tanners, Curriers, Boot and Shoemakers, Saddlers	2,715
Clergy, Professionals, Students	2,659
Tailors, Clothiers, Hatters	2,128
Black, Copper, Tin Smiths, Braziers, Pewterers	1,947
Clerks, Commercial Travellers	1,753
Foreign, Home, Merchants and Bankers	1,702
Dyers, Calico Printers, Bleachers, Starchers, Singers	1,664
Masons, Bricklayers, Marble Cutters, Causewayers	1,552
Cowkeepers, Carters, Carriers	1,487
Muslin Manufacturers, Calenderers	1,319
Hawkers and Dealers in Smallwares	1,276
Porters and Watchmen	1,254
Tambourers, Darners, Clippers	1,231
Grocers and Victuallers	1,127
Warehousemen and Supernumeraries	1,093
Bakers, Confectioners, Pastry Cooks	1,063
Brass, Iron, Type Founders and Moulders	924
Machinists, Engineers, Millwrights	892
Colour-men, Painters, Plumbers, Glaziers	761
Waiters, Postboys, Hostlers, Grooms	716
Writers, Law Agents, Messengers, Sheriffs, Town Officers	629
Slaters, Plasterers	584
Washers, Dressers, Manglers	582
Compositors, Letter-Press Printers, Folders	573
Agents, Factors, Accountants	544
Potters, Glass-Cutters, Dealers in Glass and China	501
Coopers and Turners	497
Surgeons, Druggists, Chemists	494
Iron-Mongers, Hardwaremen, Nailors	474
Booksellers, Stationers, Bookbinders	459
Fleshers, Fishmongers, Poulterers	456
Tobacconists, Tobacco Spinners, Drysalters, Soap and Candle Makers	411
Gardeners, Fruiterers, Green Grocers, Seedsmen	409
Engravers, Block and Print Cutters	359
Flax Dressers, Rope Spinners, Sail and Block Makers	349
Coach-makers, Cart and Wheel Wrights	322
Haberdashers, Mercers, Drapers, Hosiers, Glovers	321
Brush and Basket Makers, Comb and Spoon Makers	313
Silversmiths, Jewellers, Watch and Clock Makers	277
Furniture Brokers, Dealers in Old Clothes	254
Barbers, Hairdressers, Perfumers	232
Miscellaneous	6,361

Source: Cleland, Enumeration . . . p. 214.

APPENDIX III

AGE AND SEX OF GLASGOW COTTON SPINNERS

Age	Male	Female
Below 11	283	256
From 11-16	1519	2162
16-21	881	2452
21-26	541	1252
26-31	358	674
31-36	331	255
36-41	279	218
41-46	159	92
46-51	117	41
51-56	69	18
56-61	45	16
61-66	17	7
66-71	15	2
71-76	11	0
76-81	5	0
81-86	0	0
86-91	1	0
TOTAL	4631	7445

Source: P.P., Supp. Rep. Part I, 15 Mar. 1834, (167) XIX, p. 33.

APPENDIX IV

Year	Customs Duties Collected at Glasgow	Revenue of the River Clyde Trust
1840	£472,563	£46,651-9-4 (£46,651.46½)
1841	£526,100	£50,666-19-2 (£50,666.96)
1842	£503,871	£40,678-16-8 (£40,678.83½)
1843	£497,728	£43,301-2-0 (43,301.10)
1844	£551,851	£41,286-18-8 (£41,286.93½)
1845	£589,527	£45,868-10-11 (£45,868.54½)
1846	£634,305	£51,198-12-2 (£51,198.61)
1847	£659,834	£59,017-2-9 (£59,017.14)

Source: S. C. Monetary Policy, Commercial Distress Part III, P.P., 1847-8, (565) VIII, p. 416.

Year	Revenue of the River Clyde Trust	Port of Glasgow	
		Exports	Imports
1825	£8,367-11-7 (£8367.58)	£87-19-10 (£87.99)	£194-6-3 (£194.31)
1830	£20,296-18-6 (£20,296.92½)	£127-16-7 (£127.83)	£2485-19-5 (£2485.97)
1831	£18,932-0-7 (£18,932.03)	£102-1-11 (£102.09½)	£1267-7-0 (£1267.35)
1832	£22,496-0-3 (£22,496.01)	£121-1-9 (£121.09)	£2115-5-10 (£2115.29)
1833	£21,578-5-2 (£21,578.26)	£157-12-10 (£157.64)	£975-6-2 (£975.31)
1834	£22,859-14-10 (£22,859.74)	£239-13-11 (£239.69)	£2968
1835	£31,091-19-3 (£31,091.91)	£490-3-8 (£490.18½)	£6192-8-9 (£6192.44)
1836	£35,612-16-0 (£35,612.80)	£744-9-7 (£744.48)	£3333-1-8 (£3333.08½)
1837	£35,595-8-3 (£35,595.41)	£961-7-8 (£961.38½)	£6859-1-6 (£6859.07½)

Source: Symons, op.cit. Appendix pp. 267, 268.

APPENDIX V

Professions: selected categories	1833-34	1847-48
Academies, Ladies' Boarding and Day	22	24
Accountants	53	100
Agents, general	160	106
Apothecaries	8	-
Architects	18	26
Artificial Flower and Feather Makers	1	-
Auctioneers	14	24
Bookbinders	20	30
Booksellers, Stationers and Binders	62	80
Brewers	17	11
Brokers, Ship and Insurance	25	83
Chemists, manufacturing	15	31
Clergymen, miscellaneous	74	102
Coffee Houses	3	19
Commission Merchants	62	356
Confectioners and Pastry Cooks ..	46	65
Cotton Brokers	8	13
Cotton Mill Furnishers	2	5
Cotton Spinners	41	52
Cotton Waste Dealers	4	20
Cotton Wick Manufactures	2	-
Cotton Yarn Merchants	26	39
Dental Surgeons	6	13
Druggists	19	39
Embroiderers	1	5
Engineers	18	39
Fleshers	142	147
Furriers	8	4
Goldsmiths, Jewellers	4	15
Grocers, Tea, Spirit Dealers	682	363
Hairdressers	60	43
Inns, Hotels	19	27
Jewellers	22	48
Libraries	7	29
Looking-Glass Manufacturers	4	7
Manufacturers	255	318
Merchants	468	597
Midwives	18	12
Milliners, Dressmakers	81	171
Music, Musical Instrument Dealers ..	6	14
Musical Instrument Makers	3	8
Musicians	10	10
Pawnbrokers	23	40
Perfumers, Hairdressers	10	15
Physicians, Surgeons	209	224
Piano Forte Makers	3	16
Piano Forte Tuners	3	11
Portrait, Miniature, Landscape Painters	14	25

Professions: selected categories	1833-34	1847-48
Reading Rooms	5	10
Sculptors	1	12
Shipbuilders	2	8
Silversmiths	4	6
Spirit Dealers	819	974
Stationers	29	98
Surveyors, miscellaneous	13	33
Teachers, miscellaneous	177	281
Toydealers	7	17
Umbrella, Parasol Makers	20	15
Undertakers	3	15
Veterinary Surgeons	4	7
Watch, Clock Makers	21	70
Writers	284	278
Banking Houses	16	18
Fire, Insurance Offices	35	91 (Insurance Companies)
Stockbrokers		80

Compiled from information in Post Office Annual Directory for 1833-34, 1847-48 (Glasgow, 1833, 1847)

APPENDIX VI

CLASSIFICATION OF DEPOSITORS IN THE NATIONAL BANK
31 JANUARY 1840

Description of Depositors	New Entrants in Year ending 20th November				Total		Total
	1836	1837	1838	1839	Male	Female	
Agricultural Employments	0	0	284	196	424	56	480
Domestic Servants ..	167	654	647	1132	174	2426	2600
Mechanics, Artificers and their Wives ..	370	1036	2202	1557	4284	881	5165
Clerks, Shopkeepers and Dressmakers	0	0	613	961	1271	303	1574
Factory Operatives ..	489	491	315	111	1043	363	1406
Minors under 15 years of age	165	387	466	331	787	562	1349
Labourers	0	0	96	370	466	0	466
Other descriptions not specified	783	1170	0	0	1009	944	1953
Total individuals ..	1974	3738	4628	4658	9458	5535	14993
Friendly Societies ..	13	6	50	49	0	0	118
Charitable and Provident Associations	42	42	32	28	0	0	144
Branch Banks	0	0	1	3	0	0	4
Total Accounts opened	2029	3786	4706	4738	9458	5535	15259

Source: Cleland, The Former and Present State . . . p. 88.

APPENDIX VII

AVERAGE WAGE RATES 1839-40

Trade	Period of Labour	1839 per week	1840
Blacksmiths as Engineers	10 hours	26/- (£1.30)	25/- (£1.25)
Blacksmiths, general smiths' work ..	10 hours	19/- (95p)	19/- (95p)
Bootmakers	Per Piece	21/- (£1.05)	21/- (£1.05)
Bricklayers	10 hours	21/- (£1.05)	21/- (£1.05)
Cabinetmakers ..	10 hours	16/- (80p)	16/- (80p)
Calenderers	12 hours	16/- (80p)	16/- (80p)
Carvers	10 hours	23/- (£1.15)	23/- (£1.15)
Coopers	10 hours	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)
Gilders	10 hours	£1	£1
Joiners and House Carpenters	10 hours	£1	£1
Labourers	10 hours	12/- (60p)	12/- (60p)
Letter-Press Printers in Book Printing Offices Av.	Per Piece	£1	£1
Letter-Press Printers in Newspaper and Job Offices	11 hours	25/- (£1.25)	25/- (£1.25)
Masons (when full-time)	10 hours	22/- (£1.10)	22/- (£1.10)
Millwrights at Public Works	10 hours	23/- (£1.15)	22/- (£1.10)
Moulders	10 hours	24/- (£1.20)	25/- (£1.25)
Painters	———	19/- (95p)	19/- (95p)
Plasterers	10 hours	19/- (95p)	19/- (95p)
Plumbers	10 hours	21/- (£1.05)	21/- (£1.05)
Porters in Shops and Warehouses	———	14/- (70p)	14/- (70p)
Sawyers	Per Piece	23/- (£1.15)	23/- (£1.15)
Shoemakers in own homes	Per Piece	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)
Slaters	10 hours	£1	£1
Tailors, in Summer 12, in Winter	10 hours	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)
Turners and Finishers at Engine Making ..	10 hours	24/- (£1.20)	24/6 (£1.22½)
Warpers generally ..	11 hours	14/- (70p)	14/- (70p)

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H.L) XXVIII, p. 164.

APPENDIX VII

WAGE RATES

Trade	1810	1810-20	1820-5	1825-30	1830-5	1838
Bricklayer ..	17/- (85p)	16/- (80p)				
Bootmaker ..	£1	18/- (90p)	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)	16/- (80p)	16/— (80p)
Bootcloser ..	22/6 (£1.12½)	£1	£1	£1	£1	£1
Brassfounder ..	-	-	18/5 (91½p)	18/5 (91½p)	19/- (95p)	£1
Cotton Spinner	-	-	-	20/2 (£1.01)	26/1 (£1.30½)	28/10 (£1.44)
Carding Master	-	-	-	17/9 (89p)	16/10 (84p)	17/6 (87½p)
Cabinet Maker ..	19/- (95p)	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)	16/- (80p)	18/— (90p)	18/- (90p) and £1
Cooper	16/- (80p)	16/- (80p)	-	-	-	-
Calenderer ..	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)
Calico Printer	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)
Collier[*] ..	24/8½ (£1.24)[*]	21/3 (£1.06)[**]	21/3½ (£1.07)[**]	20/6 (£1.02½)[**]	20/7 (£1.03)[**]	22/7 (£1.13)[**]
Dyer	-	-	-	-	-	12/- (60p)
Flesher	15/- (75p)	15/- (75p)	-	-	-	-
Forger	-	-	-	-	22/- (£1.10)	22/-(£1.10)
Gardener	15/- (75p)	-	12/- (60p)	12/- (60p)	12/- (60p)	12/- (60p)
Hatter	-	-	-	-	25/- (£1.25)	22/-(£1.10)
Joiner and House Carpenter ..	18/- (90p)	-	-	-	-	£1
Ironfounder ..	-	-	-	-	26/- (£1.30)	26/- (£1.30)
Labourer (Building)	11/- (55p)	11/- (55p)	-	-	-	12/- (60p)
Mason	17/- (85p)	-	-	-	18/- (90p)	19/- (95p)
Plumber	22/6 (£1.12½)	-	25/- (£1.25)	25/- (£1.25)	25/- (£1.25)	25/- (£1.25)
Plasterer ..	21/- (£1.05)	21/- (£1.05)	-	-	£1	£1
Patternmaker ..	-	-	-	-	21/6 (£1.07½)	21/6 (£1.07½)
Smith	-	-	-	-	18/- (90p)	18/- (90p)

[*] Refers to wages in 1811, and includes house rent and coals.
[**] Refers to average 1811-20, 1820-5 etc.

Trade	1810	1810–20	1820–5	1825–30	1830–5	1838
Slater	16/6 (82½p)	£1	£1	£1	£1	£1
Sawyer	24/- (£1.20)	24/- (£1.20)	24/- (£1.20)	24/- (£1.20)	24/- (£1.20)	24/- (£1.20)
Shoemaker	15/- (75p)	-	-	-	-	11/6 (57½p)
Tailor	19/- (95p)	19/- (95p)	-	-	-	£1
Topper in Spinning Factory	-	-	-	-	14/- (70p)	14/- (70p)
Turner	-	-	-	-	23/6 (£1.17½)	23/6 (£1.17½)

Adapted from information in Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, pp. 15–16.

APPENDIX VIII

AVERAGE PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN GLASGOW

Article	Weight or Measure	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840
Oatmeal	Per Imp. Stone	1/10 (9p)	1/9 (9p)	1/10 (9p)	2/2 (11p)	1/8 (8½p)
Potatoes	"	4d. (1½p)	5d. (2p)	6½d. (3p)	5½d. (2½p)	4½d. (2p)
Beef, 1st Quality	Per lb. of 16 oz.	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)
Beef, 2nd Quality	"	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)
Beef, 3rd Quality	"	5d. (2p)	5d. (2p)	5d. (2p)	5d. (2p)	5d. (2p)
Pork	"	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)
Bacon	"	6½d. (3p)	6½d. (3p)	6½d. (3p)	6½d. (3p)	6½d. (3p)
Bread, fine ..	4 lb. loaf	8d. (3½p)	8½d. (3½p)	9½d. (4p)	10d. (4p)	9½d. (4p)
Bread	"	7d. (3p)	7½d. (3p)	8½d. (3½p)	9d. (4p)	8½d. (3½p)
Sweet Milk ..	Per ½ gallon	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)
Butter Milk ..	Per Scotch Pint	1d. (½p)	1d. (½p)	1d. (½p)	1d. (½p)	1d. (½p)
Scotch Cheese, Av.	Per lb.	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)
Fresh Butter ..	"	11½d. (5p)	1/- (5p)	1/- (5p)	1/0½d. (5p)	1/1 (5½p)
Salt Butter ..	"	10d. (4p)	10d. (4p)	9½d. (4p)	10d. (4p)	10½d. (4½p)
Black Tea ..	"	4/8 (23½p)	4/8 (23½p)	5/- (25p)	4/8 (23½p)	5/4 (26½p)
Brown Sugar ..	"	7d. (3p)	7d. (3p)	8d. (3½p)	8½d. (3½p)	9d. (4p)
Brown Soap ..	"	5½d. (2½p)	5½d. (2½p)	5½d. (2½p)	6d. (2½p)	5½d. (2½p)
Black Soap ..	"	4d. (1½p)	4d. (1½p)	5d. (2p)	4d. (1½p)	4d. (1½p)

Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H.L.) XXVIII, p. 165.

APPENDIX VIII

PRICES OF PROVISIONS

Article	Weight or Measure	1819	1831
Oatmeal	Per Peck	1/3 (6p)	1/2 (6p)
Barley	Per lb.	2d. (1p)	1¾d. (1p)
Potatoes	Peck of 40 lbs.	10d. (4p)	10d. (4p)
Beef, Good Boiling Pieces		7½d. (3p)	5d. (2p)
Beef, Coarse Pieces ..		5½d. (2½p)	4d. (1½p)
Pork	Per lb.	6½d. (3p)	5d. (2p)
Bacon	Per lb.	7d. (3p)	6d. (2½p)
Bread, Wheaten	Per quartern	11¾d. (5p)	8½d. (3½p)
Bread, Household	loaf	8¾d. (3½p)	6½d. (3p)
Sweet Milk		6d. (2½p)	5d. (2p)
Butter Milk		1d. (½p)	1d. (½p)
Salt Herrings	Per lb.	3d. (1p)	2½d. (1p)
Scotch Cheese		8½d. (3½p)	6d. (2½p)
Irish Butter		1/1 (5½p)	10d. (4p)
Soap White		10d. (4p)	7½d. (3p)
Soap Brown		9d. (4p)	6d. (2½p)
Black Tea		4d. (1½p)	4d. (1½p)
Brown Sugar		7d. (3p)	5½d. (2½p)
Tobacco		4½d. (2p)	3d. (1p)

Adapted from Cleland, Enumeration of the Inhabitants . . . (Glasgow, 1832), p. 231.

APPENDIX IX

THE POOR

BURIALS AT PUBLIC EXPENSE IN THE CITY PROPER

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
24 Oct. 1825–24 Oct. 1836	120	175	363	658
24 Oct. 1836–24 Oct. 1837	254	330	513	1,697
24 Oct. 1837–24 Oct. 1838	169	258	453	880
24 Oct. 1838–24 Oct. 1839	116	182	447	745
24 Oct. 1839–24 Oct. 1840	187	201	568	956

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H.L.) XXVIII, p. 174.

OCCUPATIONS OF SESSIONAL POOR, 1 AUGUST 1841

Occupation	Male	Female	Total	% of Grand Total
Clipper	-	22	22	1.8
Hawker	3	75	78	6.4
Housework or Lodgings	-	132	132	10.8
Stocking Knitter	-	20	20	1.6
Labourer	44	-	44	3.6
Porter	20	3	23	1.9
Sewer	-	139	139	11.4
Tambourer	-	32	32	2.6
Unfit for work, or of no occupation	4	118	122	10.0
Weaver	62	1	63	5.2
Washer	-	46	46	3.8
Yarn Winder	6	335	341	28.0
Other Occupations	113	45	158	13.5
TOTAL	252	968	1220	

Compiled from information in Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H.L.) XXVIII, p. 180.

APPENDIX IX

THE POOR

GROSS EXPENDITURE ON THE POOR, 1836-40

Parish	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	Total
City of Glasgow	£10,147-1-8 (£10,147.08)	£12,624-17-5 (£12,624.87)	£13,793-7-3 (£13,793.36)	£11,827-19-5 (£11,827.97)	£11,681-13-7 (£11,681.68)	£60,074-19-4 (£60,074.96)
Barony Parish	£5,443-7-2 (£5,443.36)	£5,764-7-11 (£5,764.39)	£6,033-8-11 (£6,033.44)	£6,034-8-3 (£6,034.41)	£6,131-16-8½ (£6,131.83½)	£29,407-8-11½ (£29,407.45)
Govan Annexation	£943	£1,034-3-5 (£1,034.17)	£1,366-6-0 (£1,366.30)	£1,300-6-8 (£1,300.33)	£1,447-9-7 (£1,447.48)	£6,091-5-8 (£6,091.28)
Gorbals Proper	£257-9-10 (£257.49)	£323-7-5 (£323.37)	£316-14-2 (£316.71)	£328-8-2 (£328.41)	£326-5-5 (£326.27)	£1,555-5-0 (£1,555.25)
TOTAL	£16,790-18-8 (£16,790.93)	£19,746-16-2 (£19,746.81)	£21,509-16-4 (£21,509.81)	£19,491-2-6 (£19,491.12½)	£19,587-5-3½ (£19,587.27)	£91,125-18-11½ (£91,125.94)

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H.L.) XXVIII, p. 201.

APPENDIX IX

POOR RELIEF 1833

Parish	Scots	Irish	English	Others*	Total	Money
North or Inner High	140	16	2		158	£328-19-7 (£328.98)
Outer High	180	20	4		204	£519-7-9 (£519.39)
Blackfriars	221	25	1	1	258 ‡	£595-8-0 (£595.40)
Tron Church	129	43	1		173	£390-10-8 (£390.53½)
St. Davids	60	14	-	1	75	£186-2-0 (£186.10)
St. Andrews	97	17	-		114	£342-8-6 (£342.42½)
St. Johns	85	28	-		113	Not given
St. James	90	20	-		110	£236-18-7 (£236.93)
Gorbals	128	49	1		178	£395-5-10½ (£395.29½)
Govan**	235	91	6		332	£800

* West Indian
** 1834
‡ arithmetical error: total should be 248.

Source: Irish Poor Rep. 1835, pp. 101-3.

APPENDIX X

OCCUPATIONS OF PATIENTS ADMITTED TO LOCK HOSPITAL, 1838,39,40

Occupation	1838 %	1839 %	1840 %
Domestic Servants ..	27.00	34.50	44.50
Mill Girls	28.00	32.50	27.00
Sewers etc.	20.50	26.10	18.20
Washerwomen	1.70	00.00	0.42
Bleachers	2.50	1.80	0.42
Jobbers	3.95	3.65	3.40
Bookbinders	0.70	00.00	00.00
Boot and Shoe Binders	00.00	1.10	2.50
No Employment	15.20	00.00	3.40

Source: Child. Employ. Commiss. P.P., 1843, (432) XV, i.80.

APPENDIX X

OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF 1473 PATIENTS ADMITTED TO THE LOCK HOSPITAL

	%
Labourers	13.6
Weavers	13.2
Smiths, Mechanics, Engineers	6.8
Joiners	6.5
Shoemakers	6.0
Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers	5.2
Sailors and Fishermen	4.7
Tailors	4.5
Soldiers	4.1
Farmers	3.75
Carters	3.05
Hawkers and Brokers	2.65
Cotton Spinners	2.25
Bleachers, Dyers and Calico Printers	2.2
Waiters and House Servants	2.2
Gardeners	2.1
Porters	2.1
Publicans and Grocers	1.6
Colliers	1.6
Sawyers	1.4
Police Officers	0.9
Printers and Bookbinders	0.9
Bottle Blowers and Glass Workers	0.9
Fleshers	0.9
Slaters	0.8
Coopers	0.8
Painters	0.8
Bakers	0.6
Writers and Clerks	0.6
Workmen in Breweries and Distilleries	0.27
Surgeons	0.27
Tide Waiters	0.2
Teachers	0.2
Curriers	0.2
Engravers	0.14
Watchmakers	0.14
Chimney Sweeps	0.14
Saddlers	0.14
Officers of Excise	0.14
Army Officers	0.14
Hatters	0.14
Factor, To an Estate	0.07
Musician	0.07
Last Cutter	0.07
Jeweller	0.07
Tanner	0.07
Poulterer	0.07
Cork Cutter	0.07
Carver and Gilder	0.07
Soap-Boiler	0.07
Confectioner	0.07

Glazier	0.07
Rope-Spinner	0.07
Tobacco Spinner	0.07
Mail Coach Guard	0.07
Comb-Maker	0.07
Basket Maker	0.07
Paper Maker	0.07
Auctioneer	0.07
Horse Dealer	0.07

Compiled from information in Child. Employ. Commiss. P.P., 1843, (432) XV, i 79-80.

APPENDIX XI

ESTIMATED POPULATION AND THE RATE OF MORTALITY IN GLASGOW 1836-40

Year	Population	Deaths	Rate of Mortality
1836	244,000	8,441	1 in 28.906
1837	253,000	10,270	1 in 24.634
1838	263,000	6,932	1 in 37.939
1839	272,000	7,525	1 in 36.146
1840	282,000	8,821	1 in 31.969

Mean annual mortality for these years = 1 in 31.738

DEATHS UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE AND THEIR RATIO TO THE POPULATION

Year	Population	Deaths under 5 years	Proportion of These to Population
1836	244,000	3,889	1 in 62.74
1837	253,000	3,875	1 in 65.29
1838	263,000	3,133	1 in 83.94
1839	272,000	3,777	1 in 72.01
1840	282,000	4,031	1 in 69.95

Mean annual mortality of people under 5 for these years = 1 in 70.78

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H.L.) XXVIII, pp. 168, 169.

APPENDIX XI

MORTALITY (A COMPARISON OF THE SEVEN YEARS ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1841, WITH THAT OF THE SEVEN YEARS ENDING 31 DECEMBER 1844)

Ages	Population Alive at These Ages in 1841	Total Deaths in Each Age Group for 7 Years Ending 1841	% of Average Annual Deaths To Population Alive At Same Age in 1841	Total Deaths in Each Group For 7 Years Ending 1844	% of Average Annual Deaths To Population Alive At Same Age in 1844
Under 1 Year	8,368	11,087	18.92	11,062	18.88
1- 2	7,571	7,971	15.04	7,411	13.98
2- 5	20,453	7,244	5.05	7,148	4.99
5-10	30,234	3,413	1.61	3,379	1.59
10-15	29,621	1,442	0.69	1,452	0.70
15-20	31,468	1,834	0.83	1,763	0.80
20-30	62,782	4,713	1.07	4,423	1.00
30-40	40,709	4,675	1.64	4,364	1.53
40-50	25,544	4,356	2.43	4,220	2.36
50-60	13,409	3.433	3.65	3,263	3.47
60-70	8,044	3,566	6.33	3,464	6.15
70-75	2,210	1,744	11.27	1,748	11.29
75-80	881	1,134	18.38	1,196	19.39
80-85	586	920	22.42	933	22.74
85-90	141	351	35.56	338	34.24
90-95	48	132	39.28	137	40.77
95-100	16	38	33.92	35	31.25
100+	2	20	142.85	13	92.85

Source: Vit. Stats. 1843. 4, p. 94.

APPENDIX XII

HAND-LOOM WEAVERS

Source: Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p.21.

Districts	Muslins	Pullicates, Ginghams, Stripes, etc.	Lappets and Seedings	Thibets	Total Plain Looms	Shawls and Zebras	Sprigs, etc.	Total Harness Looms	Empty Looms	Factory Looms	Number of Families in each Shop	Number of Journeymen
Calton	707	1,330	11	118	2,166	102	20	122	88	536	589	853
Bridgeton	861	399	17	70	1,347	186	54	240	30	100	576	493
Camlachie	468	166	5	14	653	50	5	55	15	-	258	200
Parkhead and Westmuir	794	87	10	24	915	34	13	47	24	60	372	101
Gorbals	158	65	37	11	271	118	50	168	36	356	243	110
Anderston	39	32	18	4	93	205	56	261	8	101	242	26
Havannah	11	91	2	3	107	13	5	18	8	95	60	43
Glenpark, Bluevale, Drygate, etc. ..	236	209	3	8	456	90	36	126	36	106	288	107
Rottenrow	88	191	9	16	304	55	3	58	14	150	179	107
Springbank, etc. ..	28	19	5	-	52	39	7	46	6	76	69	5
TOTAL	3,390	2,589	117	268	6,364	892	249	1,141	265	1,580*	2,876	2,045‡

* 100 of these are idle
‡ Many of the Journeymen are married, and have families.

APPENDIX XIII

WAGES IN THE CHIEF BRANCHES OF HAND-LOOM WEAVING

	Glasgow Gingham and Pullicates		Glasgow Plain Muslins		Glasgow Fancy Muslins and Silk Gauses		Paisley Shawls		Zebras and Dresses		Woollen Stuffs Plaids etc.		Carpets	
Period	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.	1st Cl.	2nd Cl.
1810-1816	17/- (85p)	24/6 (£1.22½)	13/6 (67½p)	17/2 (86p)	10/6 (52½p)	£1	23/- (£1.15)	26/6 (£1.32½)	9/1½ (45½p)	15/- (75p)	—	—	11/- (55p)	—
1816-1820	10/- (50p)	13/5 (66½p)	9/- (45p)	14/6 (72½p)	10/3 (51p)	18/- (90p)	17/6 (87½p)	24/- (£1.20)	10/5 (51½p)	15/- (75p)	—	—	—	—
1825	7/6 (37½p)	10/- (50p)	9/- (45p)	15/- (75p)	9/6 (47½p)	13/- (65p)	13/- (65p)	25/6 (£1.27½)	8/10 (44p)	12/8 (63½p)	—	—	—	—
1830	6/- (30p)	7/6 (37½p)	5/3 (26p)	6/5 (31½p)	7/9 (39p)	10/6 (52½p)	9/6 (47½p)	12/6 (62½p)	6/3 (31p)	8/- (40p)	15/- (75p)	18/- (90p)	—	—
1831	6/- (30p)	7/6 (37½p)	5/6 (27½p)	6/5 (31½p)	7/9 (39p)	10/6 (52½p)	10/6 (52½p)	13/6 (67½p)	6/9 (34p)	8/- (40p)	15/- (75p)	18/- (90p)	—	—
1832	5/9 (29p)	7/- (35p)	4/2 (21p)	6/9 (34p)	7/6 (37½p)	10/6 (52½p)	9/9 (49p)	12/2 (61p)	5/6 (27½p)	8/- (40p)	15/- (75p)	18/- (90p)	—	—
1833	5/3 (26p)	6/6 (32½p)	4/8 (23½p)	6/6 (32½p)	7/6 (37½p)	10/8 (52½p)	10/2 (51p)	13/6 (67½p)	7/8 (38½p)	8/6 (42½p)	14/- (70p)	17/- (85p)	—	—
1834	6/6 (32½p)	7/3 (36p)	5/1 (25½p)	8/1 (40½p)	7/4 (36½p)	10/6 (52½p)	9/8 (48½p)	15/6 (77½p)	6/10 (34p)	8/- (40p)	13/- (65p)	15/- (75p)	—	—
1835	6/8 (33½p)	7/9 (39p)	5/9 (29p)	8/2 (41p)	7/4 (36½p)	10/9 (54p)	10/8 (53½p)	15/6 (77½p)	7/2 (36p)	9/- (45p)	12/- (60p)	14/- (70p)	—	—
1836	5/9 (29p)	7/6 (37½p)	6/6 (32½p)	8/10 (44p)	7/- (35p)	10/6 (52½p)	12/- (60p)	15/2 (76p)	7/6 (37½p)	8/- (40p)	12/- (60p)	16/9 (84p)	—	—
1837	4/3 (21p)	6/6 (32½p)	4/6 (22½p)	7/9 (39p)	5/- (25p)	9/6 (47½p)	8/4 (41½p)	13/2 (66p)	8/- (40p)	8/6 (42½p)	11/- (55p)	16/9 (84p)	—	—
1838	4/6 (22½p)	7/- (35p)	4/6 (22½p)	7/6 (37½p)	6/- (30p)	9/6 (47½p)	6/6 (32½p)	13/2 (66p)	6/3 (31p)	7/6 (37½p)	11/- (55p)	16/9 (84p)	—	18/- (90p)

1st Cl. = net average rate earned by inferior weavers on inferior work;
2nd Cl. = average of skilled weavers on best work

Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-loom Weavers, P.P., 1839, (159) XLII, p. 15.

APPENDIX XIV

SPECIMEN EARNINGS OF WEAVERS' FAMILIES

No. 1

	Net Weekly Wages £ s. d.
A man, his wife and four children:	
Father weaving with second son aged twelve drawing for him	12 6 (62½p)
First son, aged fourteen	3 10 (19p)
Third son, aged nine, at school	
Daughter aged seventeen, embroidering	4 6 (22½p)
Wife, winding pirns	2 2 (11p)
TOTAL	£1 3 0 (£1.15)

Average per person 3/10 (19p)

No. 2

	s. d.
A man, his wife and five children:	
Father weaving	7 6 (37½p)
First son aged eleven, weaving	3 4 (17p)
Daughter in factory	3 6 (17½p)
3 young children	
Wife part time weaving	1 10 (9p)
TOTAL	16 2 (81p)

Average per person 2/3⅝/7 (11p)

No. 3

	s. d.
A man, his wife and two children:	
Father weaving	5 11 (30p)
Wife winding	2 0 (10p)
Two young children	
TOTAL	7 11 (40p)

Average per person 1/11¾ (10p)

No. 4	Net Weekly Wages s. d.
A man, his wife and five children:	
Father weaving	5 0 (25p)
Eldest daughter (sick) winding	1 0 (5p)
Four young children	———
Wife winding	1 2 (6p)
TOTAL	7 2 (36p)

Average per person 1/0^{2}/7 (5p)

Source: Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers P.P. 1839, (159) XLII, pp. 7-8.

APPENDIX XV

THE TRADES AND AGES OF 3072 OF THE PEOPLE GIVEN WORK BY THE RELIEF COMMITTEE IN 1837

Place of Birth	Trade or Occupation			Age of Applicant				Children		
	Weavers	Other Trades	Total Applicants	Under 30	30-50	50+	Total	Under 10	Above 10	Total
Glasgow	1,151	102	1,253	607	497	149	1,253	1,535	702	2,237
Rest of Scotland	588	79	667	227	265	175	667	694	542	1,236
Total Scots ..	1,739	181	1,920	834	762	324	1,920	2,229	1,244	3,473
Ireland	1,103	—	1,103	304	532	267	1,103	1,690	1,020	2,710
England	32	7	39	17	15	7	39	56	39	95
Abroad	10	7*	10	3	6	1	10	19	3	22
Grand Total ..	2,884	188	3,072	1,158	1,315	599	3,072	3,994	2,306	6,302**

* This figure is obviously a misprint and should not be included. If it is, the grand total becomes 3079.
** Arithmetical errors: the total should be 6300.

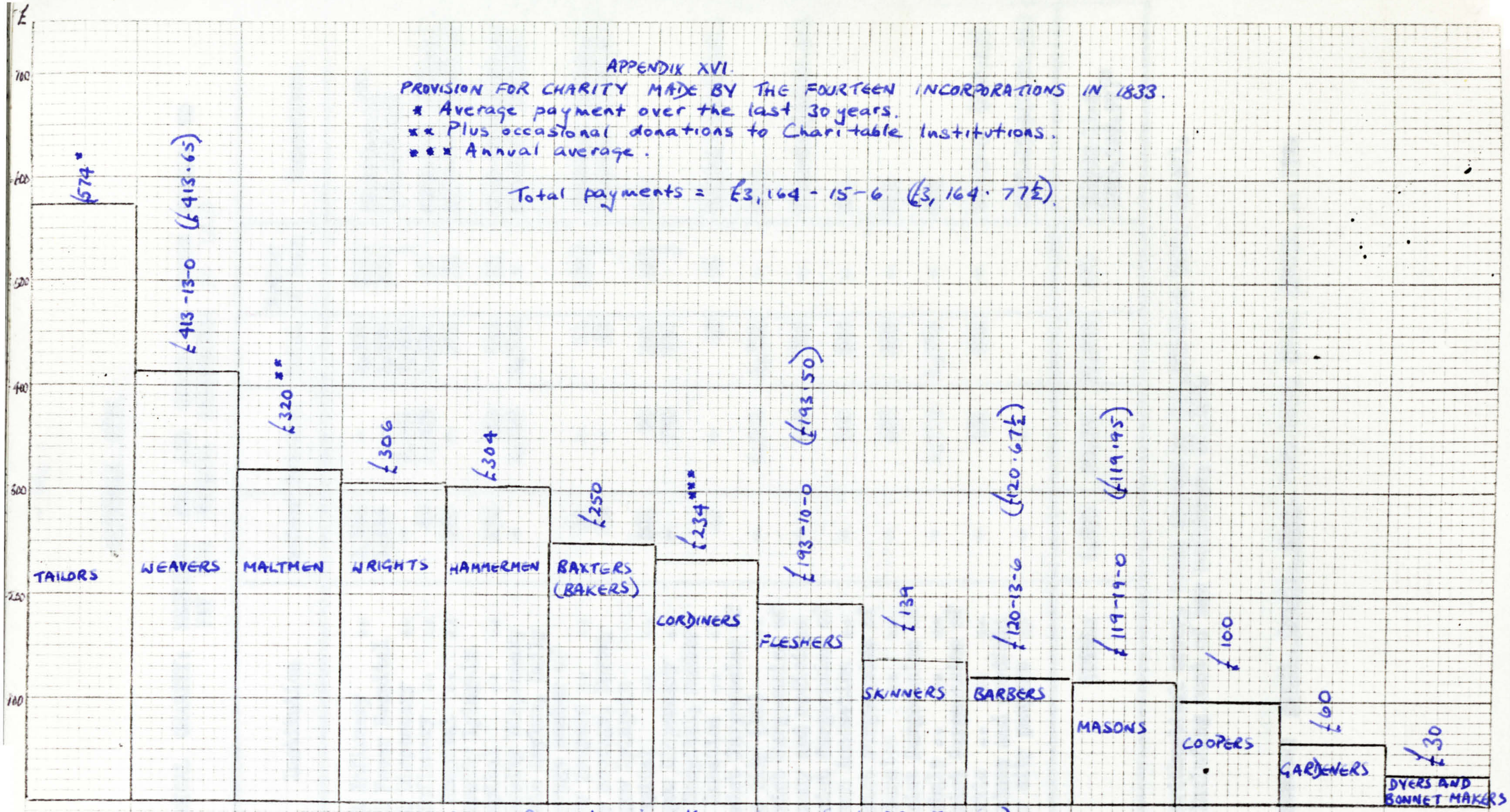
Adapted from Assist. Commiss. Rep. Hand-Loom Weavers P.P. 1839, (159) XLII, p. 23.

APPENDIX XVI.

PROVISION FOR CHARITY MADE BY THE FOURTEEN INCORPORATIONS IN 1833.

* Average payment over the last 30 years.
** Plus occasional donations to Charitable Institutions.
*** Annual average.

Total payments = £3,164 - 15 - 6 (£3,164·77½).



Compiled from information in Munic. Corps. Scot. P.P., 1836, (32) XXIII, pp. 52-3.

APPENDIX XVII

MEDICAL CHARITY: MEDICINE AND AID GIVEN TO THOSE UNABLE TO PAY FOR MEDICAL ASSISTANCE IN 1840

Institution	In-Door	Out-Door	Total	Number of Beds	Expenditure
Royal Infirmary ..	2,596	-	2,596	231)	£8,405-9-9½ [YEK]
Royal Fever Hospital	3,535	-	3,535	200)	(£8,405.49)
Royal Dispensary ..	-	7,501	7,501	)	
Eye Infirmary	63	1,273	1,336	10	£263-3-3 (£263.16)
Lock Hospital	369	-	369	32	£429-1-7 (£429.08)
University Lying-in Hospital	136	410	546	14	£156-10-0(£156.50)
University Dispensary	-	2,708	2,708	-	£27-7-2 (£27.36)
Lunatic Asylum, Daily average number of city paupers	11	-	11	110)	£200-4-0 (£200.20)
Daily average, Barony	22	-	22	)	£400-8-0 (£400.40)
Glasgow Lying-in Hospital	104	90	194	18)	£99
Glasgow Dispensary ..	-	750	750	)	
Town Hospital, number of lunatics	43	-	43	56	£228-16-2(£228.81)
District Surgeoncies of the City (12) ..	-	4,504	4,504	-	£252
District Surgeoncies of Barony and medicines	-	949	949	-	£120-9-1½(£120.46)
District Surgeoncies of Govan Annexation ..	-	320	320	-	£21
District Surgeoncies of Anderston	-	405	405	-	£41
District Surgeoncies of Gorbals	-	1,755	1,755	-	£82
District Surgeoncies of Celtic	-	261	261	-	£48-3-0 (£48.15)
Medicines and cordials for city paupers ..	-	-			£150-19-3(£150.96)
TOTAL:	6,879	20,926	27,805	671	£10922-11-4 (£10,922.57)[*]

[*] Arithmetical error, total should be £10,925-11-4 (£10,925.57).
[YEK] Including cost of new buildings, £1,108.

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 172.

APPENDIX XVIII

SUMS COLLECTED BY PUBLIC AND CONGREGATIONAL CHARITIES (IN ROUND TERMS)

Glasgow Town's Hospital	£22,000
Barony Parish	13,000
Govan Parish	4,500
Gorbals Parish	500
House of Refuge	2,000
Royal Infirmary	6,000
Deaf and Dumb Institution	1,200
Old Man's Friend Society	400
Lock Hospital	400
Lying-in Hospital	300
Merchants House	1,100
Glasgow Seaman's Friend Society	800
Widow's Friendly Society of Physicians ..	2,000
Eye Infirmary	250
Trades House	5,000
Buchanan Society	550
Wilson's Charity	300
Graham's Society	200
Mortifications of Mitchell, Tennent, Coulter, Leighton, Govin, Gilhoque	250
Other Similar Societies	10,000
Congregational Charities	7,000
	£77,750

Source: J. Smith, op.cit. pp. 99-100.

APPENDIX XIX

COMPOSITION OF THE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE GROUP

Class	1740-9	1765-74	1790-9	1830-9	Average 1740-1839
Middle	96.2	82.4	48.0	61.1	62.8
Working	1.9	14.4	47.9	32.8	32.4
'Intermediate'	1.9	3.3	4.0	6.3	4.9

'This tentative subdivision has been made because the terms artifex, operarius and opifex very probably in most cases refer to manual workers, and here have been so treated. The "Intermediate" group is labelled thus because of the nature of the occupation or the vagueness of the Latin.'

Source: Mathew, op.cit. p. 80.

APPENDIX XX

Parish	Population	Total Schools	Total Teachers	Greatest Number of Pupils, Ladyday to Michaelmas 1833			Michaelmas 1833 to Ladyday 1834			Number Taught to Read	Number Taught to Write
				Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
Easter or Outer High	9,137	12	12	456	259	715	477	279	756	1,563	611
St. Enoch	7,921	4	7	136	176	312	-	-	-	812	600
St. James	8,217	5	9	280	200	640	300	230	690	1,477	643
St. John	11,746	12	17	736	556	1,292	714	578	1,292	2,721	707
Middle or St. Andrew	5,923	9	9	340	255	595	-	-	-	889	393
North or St. Mungo	10,295	9	10	480	345	825	535	370	905	2,017	475
North-West or Ramshorn, now St. Davids ..	6,268	24	25	-	-	1,979	-	-	1,979	970	521
South or Blackfriars	7,569	2	2	110	64	174	120	64	184	1,351	400
South-West or St. Mary's ..	7,529	5	6	-	-	427	-	-	167	1,103	368
West or St. George	15,242	12	12	80	70	150	90	80	170	2,969	1,332
Barony,	77,385										
Bridgeton Division	11,000	12	12	530	346	876	520	342	862	-	-
Calton	c.20,600	19	20	774	548	1,322	652	467	119	-	-
Camlachie	c. 3,900	5	5	164	167	531	143	129	272	-	-
Cowcaddens etc.	c. 8,000	12	14	472	409	881	511	427	938	-	-
Maryhill etc. ..	c. 2,000	8	9	188	178	366	231	198	429	-	-
Shettleston ..	c. 8,000	11	12	406	271	677	454	284	738	-	-
Gorbals	35,194	39	44	1,594	1,290	2,884	-	-	-	-	-
Glassford	1,730	4	4	110	160	210	130	121	251	288	125
Govan	5,677	8	8	313	215	528	312	232	544	644	149

Compiled from information in Education Inquiry, P.P., 1837, (715) VII.

APPENDIX XXI

County	Read %	Cannot Read %	Write %	Cannot Write %
Lancashire	83	17	38	62
Cheshire	90	10	47	53
Yorkshire	85	15	48	52
Derbyshire	88	12	43	57
Staffordshire	83	17	61	39
Leicestershire	80	20	40	60
Nottinghamshire	88	12	43	57
Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex	81	19	26	74
Wiltshire	85	15	38	62
Somersetshire	89	11	26	74
Devonshire	96	4	51	49
Gloucestershire	92	8	40	60
Worcestershire	100	-	77	23
Warwickshire	88	12	68	32
Lanarkshire	96	4	54	46

Adapted from P.P., Supp. Rep. Part I, 15 Mar. 1834, (167) XIX, p. 42.

APPENDIX XXII

GLASGOW UNSTAMPED NEWSPAPERS

The Agitator 9 Mar.-13 April 1833. 1d. Weekly.

The Brougham No known copies. Literary miscellany.

Camera Obscura: Or, Life in Glasgow, Containing Literature, Sporting Intelligence, and Police Reports 2d. Weekly.

The Contest: A Publication Intended to Assist the Inquirer after Truth in Medicine, and to Settle, by Thorough Investigation, the Conflicting Opinions and Practices of the Medical World 8 Mar. 1834-22 Aug. 1835 1d. Weekly.

The Day. A Morning Journal of Literature, Politics, Arts and Fashions 2 Jan.-30 June 1832. 1d. Daily (Nos. 1-103), 2d. Weekly (104-112).

The Fireside Library. 2d. Weekly (Nos. 1-23), 1d. (Nos. 24-30).

The Friend of the People ?18 Aug. 1832-1 Sept. 1832. Weekly 1½d.

The Gentleman ?13 Sept. 1834-27 Sept. 1834. 2d. Weekly.

The Glasgow Cornucopia 19 Nov. 1831. 1d. Weekly.

The Glasgow Journal of General Literature 26 Sept. 1835-9 Jan. 1836. 1½d. Weekly.

The Glasgow News No known copies.

Glasgow Punch, A Weekly Pennyworth of Fun, Frolic, Whim and Whipping 7 July-1 Sept. 1832. 1d. Weekly.

Herald to the Trades Advocate 25 Sept. 1830-28 May 1831. 2d. Weekly.

The Literary Cabinet 1 Oct. 1831. 1d. Weekly.

The Literary Rambler; A Weekly Magazine of Literature, Science and Art 11 May-1 June 1832. 3d. Weekly; then changed to monthly July-Dec. 1832 6d.

(Loyal) Reformers' Gazette[1] 1831-1841. Weekly then monthly 2d.

The Magician. A Weekly Periodical of General Literature 24 Mar.-7 April 1832. 2d. Weekly.

The New Opera Glass: Or, Theatrical Tribunal Weekly 1d.

The New Political Dictionary

The Play-Goer 5 Feb. 1831 1d.

The Political Examiner 8-15 Sept. 1832. 1½d. Weekly.

The Quizzling Glass 28 April-16 June 1832. 1d. Weekly.

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(1) This continued to 1841 and not 1838 as J. H. Weiner, A Descriptive Finding List of Unstamped British Periodicals 1830-1836 (London, 1970), p. 29 suggests.

Radical Reformer's Gazette 17 Nov. 1832-16 Feb. 1833. 1d. (Nos. 1-12), 2d. (13-14) Weekly.

Reformers Pocket Companion 2-9 June 1832. Weekly.

The Resuscitator: A Journal of Literature and Fine Arts 7 Sept. 1833. 1½d. Weekly.

The Salt-Water Gazette 5 June-4 Sept. 1835. 2d. Weekly.

The Scottish Pulpit 31 Mar. 1832-23 Jan. 1836. 2d. Weekly.

Scottish Trades' Union Gazette 14 Sept.-14 Dec. 1833. Weekly.

The Sun No known copies.

Theatrical Examiner 23 Nov. 1833-25 Jan. 1834. 1d. Weekly.

Theatrical Visitor 16 Aug.-19 Sept. 1835. 1d. Weekly.

The Tradesman 28 Dec. 1833-31 May 1834. 1½d. Weekly.

The Visitor 1832. Bi-weekly ½d.

The Watchman . . . Containing The Most Interesting Cases Tried in the Police Courts

APPENDIX XXIII

CRIME

City	Year	Estimated Population	Number Charged with Offences	Ratio of Offenders to Population	Estimated Police Force	Number of Inhabitants to Each Policeman
London within the Metropolitan Police District	1839	1,600,000	65,965	1 : 24¼	4,500	355
Dublin within Metropolitan Police District	1839	300,000	45,682	1 : 7	1,170	256
Liverpool and Suburbs	1839	265,000	16,689	1 : 16	600	442
Glasgow within City Police Boundaries	1839	175,000	7,687	1 : 22¾	223	784
Calton	1839	28,210	2,601	1 : 11	28	1,000
Gorbals	1839	65,000	4,009	1 : 16	41	1,585
Anderston	1839	16,000	1,600*	-	16	1,000

* Of these 300 cases were 'for having dirty closes' and ought not to have been included in return.

Source: Sanit. Condit. Scot., P.P., 1842, (H-L) XXVIII, p. 189.

APPENDIX XXIII

CRIME

Year	Population	Total Convicted	% of Population
1822	151,440	1,408	0.9
1823	156,170	1,262	0.8
1824	161,120	1,372	0.85
1825	166,280	1,421	0.9
1826	171,660	1,529	0.9
1827	177,280	1,695	0.95
1828	183,150	1,802	1.0
1829	189,270	1,763	0.9
1830	195,650	1,949	1.0
1831	202,420	1,887	0.8
1832	209,230	1,960	0.9
1833	216,450	2,105	1.0
1834	223,940	2,018	0.9
1835	231,800	2,311	1.0
1836	244,000	1,701	0.7
1837	253,000	2,173	0.9

Compiled from information in S.C. Combinations of Workmen P.P., 1837-8, (488) VIII, p. 163.

APPENDIX XXIV

THE PRESS

During the period 1830-48 Glasgow had some twenty-four newspapers as well as a number of periodicals and temperance journals. Some, of course, were ephemeral lasting only a short time, such as the Radical of 1836, but taking the period as a whole Glasgow never had less than ten papers which continued for ten years or more. Such papers were not parochial in outlook. Great interest was taken in national affairs, as much space as possible being devoted to parliamentary debates which were usually printed on the front page; foreign news also received coverage. This Appendix deals only with those papers figuring prominently in the text, and seeks merely to add some general information to that already given in the text.

The Herald, Courier, and to a lesser extent the Constitutional represented the Conservative interest; the Argus, Scots Times, Saturday (Evening) Post, the Scotch Reformers' Gazette, and the Chronicle represented the reforming interest; while the Scottish Guardian represented the Church of Scotland, deigning only to talk of political reform when it was germane to religion.(1)

The Herald began its existence as the Glasgow Advertiser in 1783 - a name which it retained till 1805 when it became the Herald under the editorship of Samuel Hunter. On the whole the Herald was the most successful paper of the period: when Hunter sold out in 1837 he received £3,000 from Alexander Morrison for his interest. George Outram then became editor. The Herald was the paper of the business community as its share of advertising revenue demonstrates (see accompanying chart and Table). Unlike its Conservative stablemate the Courier, it was not marked by political invective. Its circulation in the period 1837-43 never dropped below 2538.

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(1) e.g. Scottish Guardian, 17 Jan. 1832.

The Courier was begun in 1791. It was edited by William Motherwell from 1830 to his death in 1835. Dr. McConechy then became editor and toned down the Orange views which had been strong under Motherwell. It was published three times a week till 1860 when it became a weekly and lasted another five or six years. It was exceptionally proud of its talents boasting to its readers that it had 'acquired political connections of the utmost value, and access to sources of information inferior only to a few of the favoured Metropolitan Journals, and in some particulars more than their equal'.(2) It championed right wing Toryism, and supported the Established Church, the slave owners, the West Indian interests and agriculture. It wished to have nothing to do with new ideas. In its view each section of society had its place. Forthright comment, often of a 'we told you so' nature was its hallmark.

The most interesting aspect of the third Conservative paper, the Constitutional (1835-55) was its close affiliation with politicians and would-be politicians. Sir D. K. Sandford and Colquhoun of Killermont provided the initial finance. When Sandford died in 1838, James Campbell who contested Glasgow as a Conservative in 1841 became the major shareholder. Till 1836 the Constitutional was edited by William Bennet who advocated the upholding of the establishment, the Lords, and the pursuit of peace, economy and justice. After Bennet's departure the Constitutional became an increasingly strong supporter of Peel.

Among the reform press, the Argus (1833-47) founded by the Clique was the champion of free trade, in particular Corn Law repeal (its editor till 1839 was William Weir) and claimed to speak for 'educated radicals'. It too had close connections with parliamentary representatives, in its case Oswald and Dennistoun.

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(2) Courier, 15 April 1830.

The Chronicle (1810-57), edited by David Prentice attempted to lead the reform movement in the period 1830-2. During the 1832 election it naturally championed the candidacy of John Douglas who was one of its proprietors. In April 1837 William Kippen of Busby bought the Chronicle together with the Glasgow Evening Post and the Journal for £575. The Chronicle continued till 1857.

The Saturday (Evening) Post[3] was founded in 1827 and edited by John Hamilton (Provost of Paisley 1841-4). It was a liberal reforming paper belonging to Paisley as well as Glasgow. During the period, it frequently changed its name from Saturday (Evening) Post to Glasgow Evening Post and Paisley and Renfrewshire Reformer to Saturday Post.

When it came under the control of Prentice of the Chronicle it accordingly adopted his 1832 election pledges. It was most successful in the years after 1842 when the Glasgow Chartist papers had ceased. During this period it supported Complete Suffragism, economic reform and secular education. In 1856 it resumed the name of the Renfrewshire Reformer and continued till 1875.

The Scots Times was begun in 1825. During the agitation for the Reform Bill it tended to take a Whig stance, which it continued after 1832, always advocating that the Whig government be given a fair chance.[4] As its editor, Robert Malcolm, began to adopt more left-wing politics, so too did the Scots Times. After the Grand Radical Demonstration in May 1838 it became a supporter of universal suffrage, and from then on it was a half-Chartist paper, though it was always to the right of Malcolm's other completely Chartist paper, the Scottish Patriot.[5] It ceased publication in 1841.

The Scotch Reformers Gazette (1837-48) was the organ of Peter McKenzie ('loyal Peter' of the Political Union). Though professing radical views it tended to be alarmed by Chartism and supported Corn

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(3) Unfortunately the Mitchell Library has since mislaid the volume containing the issues 1831-8.
(4) e.g. Scots Times, 13 April 1833.
(5) The Scottish Patriot is considered fully in Chap. V below.

Law repeal. When it 'came to the crunch', its politics had more in common with that of men of property than of working-class radicals. From 6 January 1849 to 3 August 1850, it continued its existence under the title of the Reformers Gazette.

Though the Scottish Guardian arrived on the scene during the Reform Bill agitation (17 January 1832) and supported the Bill, its prime interest was religion. As befitted a paper which was always edited by a minister (the first being the Rev. George Lewis author of Scotland - a half-educated nation), it tended to assess all issues in terms of their relevance to religion. It continued till 1861.

The Examiner was founded in 1843, also by a minister, the Rev. John Smith, author of The Grievances of the Working Classes and claimed to represent all leading Dissenters. It was a liberal, humanitarian paper which campaigned for improved local housing, effective poor laws, factory reform, Corn Law repeal and Complete Suffragism. It was reasonably successful and lasted till 1864.

The Free Press begun in 1825 embodied a weak liberalism. Even this liberalism however tended to wane after the Reform Bill had become law and by the time of its demise on 24 June 1835 its views had more in common with Peelite Conservatism than with liberalism.

Circulation

The following table gives some idea of circulation figures. In assessing these, it has to be remembered that the figures refer to the number of stamps purchased. While no doubt, there were times when a paper purchased a larger number of stamps than it needed, to give the impression of a greater circulation, nevertheless, the figures probably represent a fairly accurate picture of the circulation. Attention should also be directed to the total number of stamps purchased in each time period. These ranged from 6,408 in the period January to June 1837 (of which the Herald accounted for 2538 or 39.6 per cent) to 16,078

in the period April to June 1842 (of which the Herald accounted for 3384 or 21 per cent). To attain some idea of the readership involved, these figures should be multiplied by anything between six and ten, for newspapers were passed from hand to hand.

CIRCULATION OF GLASGOW NEWSPAPERS 1837-43

Paper	Jan.-June 1837	Jan.-Mar. 1839	Jan.-Mar. 1840	Jan.-Dec. 1841	April-June 1842	Jul.-Dec. 1842	April-June 1843
Herald	2538	3076	3500	3000	3824	3355	3384
Courier	400	846	769	800	1025	1012	1025
Constitutional	—	519	884	600	1230	884	1061
Scottish Guardian	600	1442	1307	1300	1153	754	1153
Mail	—	—	461	400	230	461	230
Scotch Reformers Gazette ..	1000	2385	2461	2400	3538	4624	3538
Argus	550	1200	807	1050	1000	1000	1076
Chronicle ..	300	513	455	400	539	492	487
Scots Times ..	170	385	115	300	—	—	—
Saturday Evening Post	200	1346	1307	1200	3309	3407	3600
Journal	150	308	238	300	230	269	307
Citizen	—	—	—	—	—	—	2153
Scottish Patriot	—	1346	—	950	—	—	—
New Liberator ..	500	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Stamps Bought	6408	13366	13,304	12,700	16,078	16,258	18,014

Cowan, op.cit. p. 170

Advertising

The following Table and chart demonstrate how successful the main papers were in attracting advertising (figures in percentage):

GLASGOW NEWSPAPERS : ADVERTISING. (1837)

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 %

HERALD

33	SHIPPING
30	REAL PROPERTY
25	GOODS
33	BUSINESSES
40	PUBLICATIONS
9	PROFESSIONAL
22	ENTERTAINMENTS
42	SITUATIONS
32	LEGAL

COURIER

31	SHIPPING
13	REAL PROPERTY
5	GOODS
6	BUSINESSES
11	PUBLICATIONS
15	PROFESSIONAL
17	ENTERTAINMENTS
8	SITUATIONS
18	LEGAL

CONSTITUTIONAL

4	SHIPPING
4	REAL PROPERTY
4	GOODS
7	BUSINESSES
16	PUBLICATIONS
23	PROFESSIONAL
7	ENTERTAINMENTS
6	SITUATIONS
6	LEGAL

SCOTTISH GUARDIAN

15	SHIPPING
8	REAL PROPERTY
5	GOODS
7	BUSINESSES
10	PUBLICATIONS
16	PROFESSIONAL
12	ENTERTAINMENTS
11	SITUATIONS
5	LEGAL

ARGUS

2	SHIPPING
15	REAL PROPERTY
14	GOODS
20	BUSINESSES
16	PUBLICATIONS
9	PROFESSIONAL
16	ENTERTAINMENTS
12	SITUATIONS
18	LEGAL

SCOTCH REFORMERS GAZETTE

13	SHIPPING
20	REAL PROPERTY
35	GOODS
24	BUSINESSES
4	PUBLICATIONS
10	PROFESSIONAL
18	ENTERTAINMENTS
16	SITUATIONS
13	LEGAL

CHRONICLE

2	SHIPPING
10	REAL PROPERTY
12	GOODS
3	BUSINESSES
3	PUBLICATIONS
18	PROFESSIONAL
8	ENTERTAINMENTS
5	SITUATIONS
8	LEGAL

	Herald	Courier	Constitutional	Guardian	Argus	Scotch Reformers Gazette	Chronicle
Shipping	33	31	4	15	2	13	2
Real Property ..	30	13	4	8	15	20	10
Goods	25	5	4	5	14	35	12
Businesses ..	33	6	7	7	20	24	3
Publications ..	40	11	16	10	16	4	3
Professional ..	9	15	23	16	9	10	18
Entertainments	22	17	7	12	16	18	8
Situations ..	42	8	6	11	12	16	5
Legal	32	18	6	5	18	13	8

Cowan, *op.cit.* p.168

The *Herald* successfully attracted most sections of the community: its only 'failure' occurred with the professional category. The *Courier*, as might be expected from its championing of West Indian trade won strong support from the shipping interest (though the *Herald* still had the largest share). The *Herald* and *Courier* together commanded 64 per cent of all shipping advertising. The *Argus*' best customer was the business element, and the *Scotch Reformers Gazette*'s general goods.

The following list gives the main Glasgow papers of the period, their dates of existence where known, and where the paper can be consulted if it is still available. In relation to the Mitchell Library's holdings, it should be pointed out that their newspaper cataloguing contains some inaccuracies: often they possess more issues of a paper than the catalogue suggests. This can only be ascertained through a process of requesting a paper for any year that it is known to have existed, whether or not the catalogue suggests the Library holds that year's issue.

The Glasgow Argus 1833-47 (available, Mitchell Library, Glasgow).

The Glasgow Chronicle 1810-57 (available 1811-33, 1838-43, Mitchell Library; 3 Jan. 1844-30 Dec. 1857, British Museum Newspaper Repository, Colindale).

The Glasgow Citizen 1842-?1865 (available 6 Jan. 1844-30 Sept. 1865 (wanting 1847), Colindale).

The Glasgow Constitutional 1835-55 (available 1835-47, Mitchell Library; 5 Jan. 1844-13 Sept. 1855, Colindale).

The Glasgow Courier 1791-1865(6) (available 1791-1859, Mitchell Library).

The Glasgow Examiner 1844-64 (available 1844-63, Mitchell Library; to 3 Sept. 1864 Colindale).

The Glasgow Evening (Saturday) Post and Paisley and Renfrewshire Reformer 1827-75 (available 1831-8*, 1840-5 (microfilm) 1846-50, Mitchell Library; 1846-18 June 1870, Colindale).

The Glasgow Free Press 1823-35 (available 23 Jan. 1823-4, 29 Mar. 1825-30, 1832-5, Mitchell Library).

The Glasgow Herald 1805- (available generally).

The Glasgow Journal 1755-?1859 (available 1835, 1841-3, Mitchell Library; 4 Jan. 1844-9 April 1846, Colindale).

The Glasgow Times 23 Jan. 1847-17 April 1847 (available, Colindale).

The Liberator ?1832-8 (available 26 Oct. 1836, Colindale).

The Mail 20 July 1839-Dec. 1844 (available 3 Jan.-25 Dec. 1844, Colindale).

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APPENDIX XXV

'Glasgow Political Union.

Fellow Citizens!

At a moment like the present, when the public peace is in imminent danger on the one hand, and our Political and Social Rights in jeopardy on the other, we are loudly called upon to adopt the most prompt and efficient measures for the security of both. An extensive organization of the People must be established, otherwise no moral influence will be found adequate to restrain outrage and tumult, and no means available for the energetic expression of Public Opinion in case of emergency. Two Associations, indeed, already exist. But the one, although not nominally, is in reality, exclusive of all but the Wealthier Classes; and the other, expressly subservient to the interests of the Operative Portion of the Community. It would therefore seem necessary to form a purely Popular Association, where all distinctions of Caste, too long and most invidiously kept up to effect the basest purposes, shall be forgotten. No obloquy is meant, either towards the Reform Association or the Trades' Political Union. Each of these bodies has been productive of very considerable benefit to the Public, and both have claims upon our gratitude.

With the prospect before our eyes, however, the unhappy prospect, of the re-rejection of the Ministerial Measure, the support of which has endeared the Sovereign to his People, it is obvious that neither of these Institutions can be regarded as an Organ of the Public Mind. Another adverse majority in the Lords may be sufficient to render our flourishing City a scene of disgraceful pillage and confusion. What would avail in the burst of popular fury the voice of even hundreds of disunited, or but partially organised individuals?

Let the Public then Speak for Itself!

Let it be ready to act in time, and act as one Man! - Let every one who has marked the pernicious effect of Clerical and Aristocratical insolence, blend his little distinctions in the common weal, by enrolling his Name with the Thousands of his Countrymen, who have devoted themselves to the Sacred Cause! Here, Wealth and Rank may be lost sight of amidst higher and more important considerations, but they will only be merged in the glory of a Common Name, which shall operate as a Charm - as a Nucleus of Concord to the Friends of Freedom, and a Curb upon the Partizans of Disorder, and the Enemies of our liberties.

LET A GLASGOW POLITICAL UNION

start in honourable rivalry of the Noble Union of Birmingham! Let similar objects be kept in view, namely, the eradication of every Public Abuse, whether general or local, as well as the assertion of our unalienable Rights and Privileges, and our exertions must be crowned with success . . . .

James Turner'

From Courier, 19 Nov. 1831.

APPENDIX XXVI

Transcribed from Scots Times, 24 July 1832.

PRENTICE'S PLEDGES FOR THE 1832 ELECTION

Supplies to be stopped unless salaries and superannuations of public servants be put on same footing, as if employed in common business - unless these salaries be fixed, and independent of fees - unless promotions in army and navy be better ordered - and unless all half-pay officers be taken into employment before any new be taken on.

Old Taxes to be abolished - Assessed taxes, fustages, taxes on paper and newspapers, all duties on provisions, all duties on raw materials - differences of duties on East and West Indian produce, difference of duties on Baltic and N. American timber, all customs and excise paid by the middle and working classes, all duties operating as bounties or restrictions on trade.

New taxes to be established - articles of luxury to be taxed by an 'invariable rule' so framed that no such articles 'be exonerated' - public funds to be taxed.

Old laws to be abolished - Corn Law, game laws, septennial parliaments, entail laws entirely, - church patronage, Scotch (sic) burgh system, privileges of Commissioners of Supply, present laws respecting publicans, laws respecting heritable property, to be put on same footing as moveable, capital punishment except for murder, flogging in army and navy.

New Laws - Triennial Parliaments, vote by ballot, crown lands to be sold only by public roup, properly advertised, local judges to be established under entirely new regulations, members of committees on private bills in parliament to be sworn, trustees on roads to make their accounts public, all electors to be qualified to be appointed road trustees, no local bill to be brought into parliament, unless sanctioned by local public meeting, town councils and magistrates to be appointed by burgesses or householders, poor laws in Ireland on same principle as England, Scotch clergy to be appointed by communicated members of church.

Other new laws for trade - Free Trade to India, China, every monopoly and restriction to be abolished, slavery in British colonies to be abolished, otherwise to give up connexion with these colonies, India to be taxed and otherwise legislated for by Reformed Parliaments - state of working classes to be considered, especially of such as 'without any fault of their own, but entirely by improvements in machinery, have been thrown out of employment'.

APPENDIX XXVII

'Honoured Sir, - We, the undersigned Conservative operatives of Glasgow, at the instigation of the several kirk sessions from which we receive charity, and the employers who have threatened to turn us off if we refuse, beg leave on bended knees, and with uplifted hands, to approach your worship's honour and glory.

We know that you took office under and supported Castlereaugh, who, in 1812, railed at "our ignorant impatience of taxation".

We know that you were in office during the whole of the time when spies were sent out by the government to take advantage of our misery and despair, to urge us on to enterprises which cost some of our fellow-operatives their lives.

We know that you were one of those who agreed to thank and reward the praises of the Manchester Magistrates, who ordered our fellow-sufferers to be sabred and trampled under horses' hoofs, for daring to complain.

And knowing all these things, we cannot fail to have the most implicit confidence in your justice and clemency, and pray that you may be long preserved to reign over us.'

Argus, 29 Dec. 1836

APPENDIX XXVIII

AUGUSTUS HARDIN BEAUMONT (1798-1838)

Augustus Hardin Beaumont came to England from Jamaica in the spring of 1835 and died at the end of January 1838. Francis Place said of Beaumont that 'his eccentricities sometimes bordered upon insanity'.(1) Beaumont had a varied career: he became a critic of colonial slavery; he established a number of newspapers in Jamaica; he joined the National Guard in Paris after the July Revolution.

In England he was briefly associated with the L.W.M.A. in its early stages. In 1836 he founded The Radical, a newspaper devoted to freedom of the press and universal suffrage. He stood for Newcastle upon Tyne in the radical interest in the General Election of July 1837, and though he had won on a show of hands at the hustings, he came bottom of the poll. He was very active in the Newcastle area. On 21 October 1837 he launched the Northern Liberator which was an important radical publication.

During the short time he was in Britain, he was active in radical causes throughout the country usually to be found making emotive speeches.

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(1) Add. Mss. 27819 f.32 quoted in Maehl, op.cit. p. 237.

APPENDIX XXIX

PROTEST FROM THE OPERATIVE COTTON SPINNERS MAY 1833

'We, the undersigned, members of the Short Time Committee, appointed by the Operatives of the city of Glasgow and surrounding districts, hereby represent unto you, Commissioners named by his Majesty's Government, in virtue of a resolution of the House of Commons, "to collect further evidence on the labour of children in Factories".

That, viewing such a Commission, after the evidence already adduced, to be unjust, partial, unprecedented, unnecessary, and delusive, we felt it our duty to lodge a formal protest against the proceedings of his Majesty's confidential advisers, in councilling our gracious Sovereign to protract the sufferings of so many thousands of his loyal subjects. That, from these considerations, enumerated in that protest, we had determined to avoid all connexion with the Commission; but respect to his Majesty's authority, and an anxiety on our part to satisfy our fellow-countrymen as to the extent of our sufferings, induced us to tender every assistance in our power to procure a fair and open investigation of the merits of the case. That you, the Commissioners, having decided to take the evidence on which your Report is to be founded, without allowing us the privilege of being present at the examination of the witnesses adduced, a course unknown in law, and savouring more of the proceedings of a Spanish inquisition than a British court of inquiry, we hereby protest that we, or any of our constituents appearing before you, shall not be held as approving of your conduct; but nevertheless, we shall be at full liberty to bring the same under the notice of Parliament, and to supply such defects in the evidence as cannot fail to occur under such a novel and illegal mode of conducting a judicial investigation.'

From the Liberator quoted in Scottish Guardian, 4 June 1833.

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